XEROX

Xerox University Microfilms
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

# WESTERN AMERICANA

Reproduced from the original in the collection of
THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LIBRARIES

# A HISTORY:

# Greeley and The Union Colony

# OF COLORADO.

BY
DAVID BOYD, A. M.

GREELEY, COLO:
THE GREELEY TRIBUNE PRESS,
1890.

Labadie
Collection
F
781
.G79
B78

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1890, by
DAVID BOYD,
In the Office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington.

## RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED TO

**Mrs. Arvilla D. Meeker,**

*The faithful wife and devoted friend and companion of N. C. Meeker, the founder of our town and colony, and his survivor after the White River Indian Massacre, September 29th, 1879, when she and their daughter, Josephine, were taken captives by the Indians, and suffered extreme hardships and indignities for twenty-three days.*

*By The Author.*

"I propose to unite with the proper persons in establishing a colony in Colorado Territory."

N. C. MEEKER in *The New York Tribune.*

---

"Mr. Nathan C. Meeker for many years connected with *The Tribune*, as he expects to be many more, proposes to plant a colony in an admirable location discovered by him on his recent trip to the Rocky Mountains. Knowing Mr. Meeker, (who is a practical farmer), to be eminently qualified for *leading* and *founding* such a colony, we advise temperate, moral, industrious and intelligent persons who would like to make homes in the Far West to read his letter herewith published, and should his plans suit them, write to him, *not us*, on the subject." —HORACE GREELEY, in same issue of *The Tribune*.

---

"Two classes of events are presented in our colony life, one class is connected with the affairs of individuals, which, even by those concerned, are quickly forgotten. It is doubtful if a history of these days, as affecting individuals, ever will or can be written—it is doubtful whether it would be of any benefit if it were written. Another class of events can be readily recorded—these relate to the progress and growth of the colony. Individuals may rise or fall, may live or die, property may be lost or gained, but the colony as a whole, will prosper, and the spot on which we labor, so long as the world stands, will be the center of intelligence and activity."—N. C. MEEKER in first issue of

*The Greeley Tribune*, November 13th, 1870.

N. C. MEEKER.

## PREFACE.

LAST summer I wrote a chapter for Frank Hall's Second Volume of the History of Colorado, on Greeley and the Union Colony of Colorado, from the spring of 1871 up to date. The first year had been sketched by the author in his first volume. While engaged in this work, it occurred to me that a more extended view of our history would be desirable in a separate volume, and which could be had at a figure so low as to be within the reach of all.

The present time appeared to me a favorable one for this work as many of the old landmarks are disappearing, and the data I found were beginning to be difficult to procure. The files of *The Tribune* were incomplete, nearly the whole of the first year being missing, while *The Sun* has no files previous to 1885. The deficiency above pointed out, is made good to a certain extent by the care of H. T. West who has collected in a "Scrap Book" a large number of newspaper articles relating to the colony during the first three years. Mr. West has been kind enough to put this in my hands together with other valuable documents, some of which will be printed in full in the appendix.

Mrs. N. C. Meeker and Mrs. Skewes, her daughter, have also furnished me valuable papers—articles published in *The New York Tribune* from the pen of N. C. Meeker, when he was on his trip to the Rocky Mountains prior to the formation of the colony, and also some forty letters from Horace Greeley to Mr. Meeker during the years 1870, 1871 and 1872. The greater portion of these last I have seen fit to publish on account of their historical value, and to show the deep interest Mr. Greeley took in the welfare of the colony and his friendship for and confidence in N. C. Meeker.

It may seem to some out of place to publish a history of this length about a place so small in population and so young as Greeley. It is worth while to remember that the cities which have, and deservedly, the most celebrity, were not the most populous; and some of the countries which have had the greatest influence on human progress were of limited extent. The area of Attica, the domain subject to Athens, was only 2,481 square miles, the greater part of which was unfit for cultivation ; and that of Latium, for some centuries the only territory of Rome, was only 4,601 square miles, while that of Weld County, when the colony came here, was about 16,000 square miles.

It is true Greeley has not attained the celebrity of these ancient States, but it has become more widely and more favorably known than many American cities of ten times its population. Its reputation is not only as wide as the United States and Canada, but its fame has penetrated to remote hamlets in Europe. William Black, in his novel, "Green Pastures and Piccadilly," devotes a page or over to a description of our then little town (in 1877) which ends in these words: "As we think of Greeley—here in England in the depth of winter—it shines for us still in the light of that summer morning, and the trees and fields are yet green around it, and the mountains are blue under the blue of the sky. May it shine and flourish forever."

In its early days no place of its size was ever so well advertised as Greeley. This came not from any attempt to "boom" the place, but from the wide circulation of *The New York Tribune*, and the reputation that Mr. Meeker, the founder of Greeley, had as a writer for the columns of that paper; also from the well known experiment we were making as a co-operative and temperance community. *The Greeley Tribune*, chiefly, after it was started, became the principal vehicle of information to the rest of the country, and was a journal unique not only in the editorial articles, but by the original contributions of many writers here, foremost among them J. Max. Clark. Mr. Meeker was cautious never to overstate the facts as to the advantages of our place; and the men, mostly farmers, who after the first year had the management of colonial matters, were most pronouncedly opposed to all misrepresentation of the actual situation of affairs here. So, too, the most of the people were free from making noisy demonstrations about our success, and we became a subject of remark on the part of strangers on account of our indifference as to what others thought about us or the place.

But this history is written principally for our own people. It is not expected that many outside of the colony will take much interest in the greater part of what will be narrated in the following pages, and the most interest will be attached to it on the part of the earlier settlers. Many of the men and measures which made us a peculiar people have passed away; and to many it will seem best that they have. If to be spoken well of, and to be free from derision, is a thing to be desired, the Greeley of to-day is in an enviable position compared with the Greeley of eighteen years ago, for we are no longer the butt of ridicule. Most of the men, who according to the slang of the day, would be called "cranks," and most of the measures, which brought us into conflict with other communities, have long passed away or been settled.

In reference to any series of movements of human progress, two classes of statements need to be made—those relating to results accomplished, and those relating to the instrumentalities by which they are brought about. These latter are for the most part men, and they will become conspicuous in proportion to the part they have played in bringing about results. The Union Colony was a co-operative movement, and the result was in a very important sense the work of all; and hence, so far as possible, all genuine, true workers shall have mention. Even those who only worked for selfish ends and devoted no time to the general welfare in making their own careers successful, also to that extent made the colony successful. The writer remembers that during the first year there was a certain class of men who used to sit around on dry goods boxes discussing whether the colony would be a success, and doing nothing but Micawber-like waiting for something to turn up. At a public meeting in the spring of 1871 the writer advised this class of men not to ask whether the colony was going to be a success, but for each to ask himself, "Am I a Success," or on the way to become anything of the kind? If he thought he was, then he was going to contribute his just share to the success he was so eager about; if not, the sooner he left here the better for both him and the colony. It appeared to me many took the hint, and either went to work, or betook themselves elsewhere, for thenceforward these roosting places became comparatively abandoned.

But even in co-operative movements there must be leaders, and it is impossible to describe the movement without giving them prominence. Of these men N. C. Meeker will necessarily occupy the front rank. He was not only the originator of the movement, but while he lived was president of the colony, and more than that, the editor of *The Tribune*, which was the leader of the intellectual, social and moral life of the people while he lived, and also was to the outside world the exponent of the progress of this place. He wrote so much, and usually so well, that his articles in *The Tribune* are a rich fund of information in regard to the questions uppermost in importance successively in our history. And here it is worthy of notice what a great advantage the man has in an historical point of view, who puts his thoughts in good form into print over him who only delivers them orally to the crowd on the street corners or at the postoffice, or even to more formal gatherings in halls of audience. To the people during the first year General Cameron was at least as conspicuous a figure as Mr. Meeker. Not so to the historian even if he was on the ground and heard all the speeches of the latter. Memory is no match for the printed page.

But the writer may be charged with giving a prominence to the career and thoughts of N. C. Meeker quite beyond the limits of the subject assigned to this work. To some extent this is true, in the case of Mr. Meeker we have seen fit to give a hasty sketch of his life before he undertook the colonial movement, and in regard to others we speak only of them so far as connected with this movement, making no inquiry as to what they were before coming here. It seems to me well to do this, in order that we should understand why he was led to form the idea of a co-operative colony. So we have seen fit to quote largely from his letters written to the *N. Y. Tribune* when on his tour to the Rocky Mountains and Plains country, as these give the most natural explanation of what he undertook upon his return.

Perhaps that portion of his writings relating to his career among the Indians at the White River Agency is most out of place here. It is inserted for the reason that the massacre has given it a general historic interest and that we as a people have an especial interest in it, not only because our leader and founder was there, but because nearly every one killed was from Greeley. It has occurred to me when reading the letters of Mr. Meeker to *The Tribune* during this period, that they furnished the best means of understanding the cause of the massacre, and how far and in what way he was responsible for it. It appears to me that these letters should be put in a fit form for preservation for the use of the future historian of the State when he comes to treat of this matter.

There is yet another reason why we have reproduced these letters and some others of his so extensively. They are worthy of preservation both in a literary point of view and for the light they cast on Indian customs and character; and it has appeared doubtful whether there ever would be a collection of his writings. Most of them have a local and passing interest. These on Indian affairs are the least so, and appear to me the best worthy of preservation, and it has occurred to me they will be acceptable to the people of Greeley also, as a relic of the founder of the place after those who knew him and loved him or hated him as the case may be. have become only a name, more or less, longer or shorter time, repeated by the tongues of living men.

In regard to events and facts there has been the greatest care taken to get at the truth, and verify every statement by written records or the oral statements of parties who took a direct part in them. When anything is only hearsay, it is so stated. The numerous misstatements made in Hubert Howe Bancroft's Volume XXV, which treats upon affairs with which we are familiar show how worthless is history as sometimes written. As some of these misstatements lie in the line of our work we have noticed them. The one that gives the credit of founding the colony chiefly to Horace Greeley we here mention, but not for the purpose of refutation, as the statement of facts as given in the words of the two men themselves, show clearly the relative parts they played, and it is noticed in the body of the work.

For the most part we have treated the different parts topically; that is, while we generally take up the different subjects as they had a commencement in time we pursue each to its end or up to date. The subject of irrigation is so vital a one, and the part taken in it by Greeley men so important, that we have treated it at considerable length without however giving it a general treatment. In this matter the reputed founders of the colony have played an insignificant part, and we have not hesitated to expose the inadequacy and narrowness of their views. The three gentlemen on the Locating Committee were not only destitute of experience, but they lacked the habits of mind that fit one to deal successfully with a new subject of this nature. In other words none of them had either the scientific spirit or method that compares, weighs, measures and then exactly states the results. They trusted to vague general hearsay, and with reluctance would admit the facts that overthrew their fine theories. The colony would have been a ruin within three years if more practical and capable men in this line had not taken the real lead. It was the most difficult thing imaginable to convince any one of the three of the utter insignificance of the canals they had built for the purposes intended. The salvation of the colony at this time was wrought by such men as J. Max. Clark, B. S. La Grange, Solon and Henry Martin and E. E. Baker, and Mr. Meeker saw it, and as we shall see, had the honesty to acknowledge it. Of the three only H. T. West had any business ability, but that was mainly in the book-keeping line, and a knowledge of mere business forms and routine is not of the least possible advantage in handling the subject of irrigation in the state in which the colony found it in Colorado. Mr. West did the colony good service in the sphere of accountant, and kept affairs from getting into the chaos they would certainly have fallen during the first three months in the hands of the other two. But it may be said that was his business, that was what he was engaged for, and several thousands of men could have been found who could have done it as well or better. Mr. La Grange, with all his insufficiency and circumlocution of statement, could get at the heart of the exact requirements for irrigating a certain area, or could surmount the obstacles that were constantly arising during our early period of experiments, far better then men whose exact and well arranged speech, give them a great advantage over him in speaking or writing on the subject. But J. Max. Clark had not only sound practical views but also has written so well and convincingly on the subject, that he must occupy the foremost place at least in the early subjects under discussion.*

On this matter I have collected proof and information from various sources which are usually indicated, and where I played a part I have transcribed the record of it, as I have that of the others. This was necessary to give a complete view of the part taken by our community in this most important question, the contribution of each being needed in a statement of the whole result.

It has appeared to me fit to give a brief account of the other colonial movements made in imitation of ours, and show wherein they failed, as they generally did, as colonies. Besides I have described what I call "outgrowths" of the colony, which were not colonies but irrigation and agricultural undertakings of Greeley men, especially in the Platte valley.

While especial prominence is given to the early times an account is also furnished of late improvements and prominent men who have come later and done so much in building up and beautifying the town. In public spirit and generosity, in standing by and defending the temperance principles, which the founders endeavored to establish here, many of these later comers equal or surpass the colonists. We have also said a word of the prominent men of early days who have left and live in other parts, or who have passed the gates through which no wayfarer returns, and then a word of recognition for the rank and file of veterans who are yet on the muster roll, after twenty years of service.

*In the above it is not meant to convey the idea that Mr. West did valuable service only as a book-keeper. His business ability was useful in many directions, and to him equally with the other two belongs the credit of having selected this site rather than either of the others inspected. As secretary of the town board at the time of its organization he did most of the work in its formation, and since, as will be seen from the list of town officers in the Appendix, has served the town frequently. Indeed, Mr. West early became a *town man*, and stood up for what he considered its rights according to the original compact—the New York constitution as against the country—which meant the enlargement of ditches out of colony funds. That instrument seems to have ignored the creation of a fund for this most vital condition of agriculture in Colorado.

## ERRATA.

Page 65, line 8, read "2,300" for "2,700."

Page 83, last line, read "larger" for "longer."

Page 122, line 31, read "Denver" for "Boulder."

Page 147, line 11, read "twenty" for "ten."

Page 152, line 1, correct as above.

Page 230, line 4, from bottom, read "$25,000" for "$2,500."

Page 248, line 5, read "four" for "three."

Page 248, line 23, read "1879" for "1876."

Page 251, line 28, read "F. J. Annis" for "A. J. Wilber." The latter went by his own conveyance and took the part assigned him in the text.

Page 371, line 23, read "Secretary of the Interior" for "their agent."

Page 418, last line, insert "make" before the word "farming."

# CHAPTER I.

WHO FOUNDED GREELEY?—SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF N. C. MEEKER UP TO DATE OF ORGANIZING UNION COLONY—MR. MEEKER'S TRIP TO THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN REGION, AND HIS LETTERS TO THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE.

THE fact that the town founded by Union Colony bears the name of the founder of *The New York Tribune* quite naturally misleads those not acquainted with the facts, into the opinion that the man whose name it bears was its founder. The Locating Committee, at the head of which was N. C. Meeker the president of Union Colony, and the author and projector of the whole scheme of the colony, saw fit, for wise and sufficient reasons, to name the town after Mr. Greeley, who was only an endorser, and friend, and valuable helper of the scheme, but in no sense its originator. The other two members of the committee, R. A. Cameron and H. T. West, proposed, after the site of the town was selected, to call it Meeker. But he was far too modest a man to hear of such a thing, and of course the next name to be thought of was that of Mr. Greeley.

It is true that in a technical and strictly literal sense, no one man founded Greeley. The whole Union Colony in its organized capacity founded the town and settled the adjacent country, and the site of the town and the colonial lands were selected by a committee elected by the colony for this purpose. The colony, according to the scheme of its projector, was a *co-operative* movement, and the very first sentence in Mr. Meeker's call in *The New York Tribune* states this, and hence all the colonists who settled here founded the town. This first sentence is—"I propose to unite with the proper persons in establishing a colony in Colorado Territory." This shows that Mr. Meeker regarded it as a *united* effort, and hence its name was *Union Colony*—the honor of first proposing this name belonging to John Leavy.

But if Mr. Meeker cannot be said in strictness to be the founder of this town, much less can Horace Greeley or any other one man be so denominated. In conceiving and formulating the colonial scheme Mr. Meeker *indirectly founded* the town and colony, and without him there would not have been any such colony or any such town. The town of Evans would have been the leading and perhaps the only town near here. Hence the only question at issue is, did N. C. Meeker originate and formulate the scheme which brought about the organization of Union Colony? It appears to me there can only be one opinion about this among persons familiar with the facts, and these are so easily accessible that it seems strange that any one writing on the subject should not give the credit where it belongs. Yet in Hubert Howe Bancroft's Volume XXV of his voluminous work on the Pacific and Rocky Mountain region, we find the following: "It—(Union Colony) was a direct outgrowth of the advertising which *The New York Tribune* gave Colorado (in 1859). *Horace Greeley was its prime mover*, and one of its most active agents was N. C. Meeker also of *The Tribune.*" As authority for this he cites Wm. N. Byers' "Centennial State MSS." If Byers makes any such statement it must be from pure malice, as no other man in Colorado, not a Greeley colonist, was so well acquainted with the facts. The truth is, that although Byers was very friendly to the colony and Mr. Meeker at the start, he got down on both but especially the latter because he opposed and exposed gigantic immigration schemes to Colorado, advocated by Byers, because they appeared to him (Meeker) visionary if not dishonest.

But while there might be some excuse for Bancroft making a statement contrary to the facts, there can be none for the one which is the opening sentence of a circular issued by the Board of Trade of Greeley in 1886. This sentence is, "Greeley was founded in 1870 by Horace Greeley, in whose honor it is named." The writer of the above imitates for us those people who, nothing in themselves are constantly boasting of their illustrious parentage. The one who reads the following pages will have no trouble from the facts laid before him in deciding who originated the colonial scheme, and who contributed most to make that scheme a success. But in order that the reader may see how naturally it came into the head of N. C. Meeker to originate this co-operative colony it will be necessary for us here to give a brief sketch of his life up to 1869.

Nathan Cook Meeker was born in Euclid, near Cleveland, Ohio, in the year 1814. The place is now known as Collamer; and L. C. Meeker, long a resident of Greeley is now residing on the paternal estate.

Nathan early displayed literary tastes, and is said, when a mere boy, to have engaged in writing poems and stories for the periodical press. In early youth he undertook a journey to New Orleans, and accomplished most of it on foot. Here he succeeded in getting work on one of the city papers, which, however, hardly afforded him a living. He returned to Cleveland in the course of some two years, having met in his travels George D. Prentice, then the literary "pundit" of the Southwest.

On returning to Cleveland he taught school long enough to make sufficient money to carry him to New York city. Here he attracted the attention of N. P. Willis then editing "*The New York Mirror*" For it he wrote poems and sketches. Though the poems were read and sometimes copied, they brought their writer scarcely enough to keep soul and body together; and he then and there renounced the writing of poetry forever.

While editing *The Greeley Tribune*, it will be remembered how little patience he had with this foible in others. In speaking at the Lyceum one evening about his early life, he humorously relates how once faring down the Mississippi on a steamboat, he had on a tall plug hat, the upper story of which was filled with this kind of literary lumber. He happened to trip and fall down one of the hatchways and the well-stuffed hat probably saved him from getting a badly cut crown. This he said was the best turn that his poetry served him.

We next see the young man turn up in Pennsylvania teaching school as a make-shift while pursuing literary studies. By the year 1844 we find him back again in Northern Ohio, when he concludes to end his Bohemian life and marries Miss Arvilla D. Smith, the daughter of a retired sea captain.

About this time was being organized near by, what was known as the "Trumbull Phalanx." This was a branch of the "North American Phalanx." These communities were organized as near as might be according to the teachings of Francois Marie Charles Fourier, a French Socialistic writer who died in 1837. He is to be sharply distinguished from the illustrious mathematician and physicist, his contemporary of the same surname. The views of this eminent French socialist had to his great mortification received but little attention during his life-time. One abortive attempt had been made in France but with insufficient capital. It is said that the old man, for some years before his death, used to devote a certain portion of each day sitting in waiting ready to receive the visit of some large hearted capitalist who, he was hoping, would come along and undertake to realize for him his dream of a truly humanized, civilized society. His was an earlier vision on a smaller scale of Edward Bellamy's year 2000. How nearly our American socialist sails to the Frenchman can be seen by readers of "Looking Backward" from the following extract from Chamber's Encyclopedia.

"The earth and human society, Fourier taught, are in their crude and infantile state. What we call civilization he considers a false and imperfect condition, with poverty, crime, ignorance, idleness, repugnant toil, disease, wasting wars, general antagonism, oppression, and misery. He believed in a universal harmony, flowing from and centering in God, the author of all harmonies, and that there is therefore a principle of universal analogy. The community should consist of 400 families or 1800 persons, which number he found included the whole circle of human capacities. These should live in one immense edifice, in the center of a large and highly cultivated domain, and furnished with work-shops, studios, and all the appliances of industry and art, as well as all the sources of amusement and pleasure. When the earth is covered with these palaces of attractive industry, the associations will also unite in groups and series, under a unitary government. There will at length be only one language and one government, and the only armies will be the great industrial armies, which will drain swamps, irrigate deserts, plant forests, and effect the amelioration of climates. The system of Fourier, does not propose to destroy but rather to conserve property, position, and hereditary rights, nor does it war directly with morals or religion. The apartments are to be of various prices, and the styles of living to vary in luxury and cost, but the poorest person in the Association is not only to be secure of comfort, but his minimum of enjoyments will be greater than the present social arrangements can give princes and millionaires. The economies of the large scale in the Phalanstery reduce by two thirds the expenses of living, while an attractive and scientific industry would quadruple the products of civilization."

Such were the speculations which at this time attracted the attention of some of the foremost thinkers and scholars of America. Among these may be mentioned Hawthorne, Emerson, George Ripley, the poet Steadman and Horace Greeley. The Brook Farm Phalanx was the most celebrated of these attempts.

Meeker and his young wife now joined the one being formed near Warren, Ohio. In an article read before the Greeley Lyceum, Mr. Meeker gave an account of the workings of this Phalanx and the causes which led, in some three years, to its dissolution. The reasons were first, ague. His second born child George, commenced shaking when it was a day old, and had it steadily for three years. He grew up weakly, took pneumonia and finally consumption of which he died in Evans a few days after the location for Union Colony was made at what is now Greeley. Second, many shirked their work. Third, many families were very large and with only the father to work, were constantly running behind. Mr. Meeker knew just how this was, as he kept the books. Fourth, there were rings that undertook to run all for their own advantage. "But if the place had been healthy we would have held out longer, and the idle and improvident would have got more out of the industrious and patient; but I have no reason to suppose that we would not finally have exploded, either in some fight, or at the least in disgust." "Here," "he says significantly," I *learned how much co-operation people would bear*." He also learned the importance of not settling a colony in an ague country. This is one reason he would not hear to the settling of Union Colony in Kansas or Nebraska, as by many he was solicited to do.

After the breaking up of the "Phalanx," which left him nearly destitute, he in company with his brothers opened up a small store near Cleveland. He seems to have fairly prospered in this business and was invited by the Campbellites to join them at Hiram, Ohio, where they were building a college. This he did, opening up a store there and became for a time the townsman of James A. Garfield who was then a leader of the sect.[*]

While here he wrote a book with the title, "The Adventures of Captain Armstrong."[†]

[*] His wife tells me that he joined the sect and was baptised into its communion.

[†] Ralph Meeker writes me the following about this book of his father:

"My father wrote a book describing the life and adventures of one Captain Armstrong, who was supposed to be wrecked on an Island in the South Pacific. With the officers of his ship who were also saved, they began at the beginning, and taught the native-savages all the arts and industries of modern civilization without its vices. The book was devoted to a minute description of how the community progressed; how the natives were taught to read, to build houses, dig out the iron ore, make iron and steel, machinery, trip hammers, great castings, and finally steam engines, railways, and lastly ships. The report that has been so often circulated in Colorado and elsewhere, that my father was simply a correspondent of *The New York Tribune* under Greeley, and that from him he received all his ideas regarding colonization, is absurd in the face of the facts. While a young man, colonization was a favorite subject with my father. When my sister Rozene was only a child, he took her on his knee, called her his Rocky Mountain girl, and told her how he was going some day to establish a settlement in the midst of the Rocky Mountains. When General Garfield was a neighbor of ours at Hiram, Ohio, away back in the time of the Crimean War, there was a Mormon elder in our village who told such wonderful stories of the beauties and resources of the Rocky Mountain region, that half the town were talking of going West. About this time my father said he would go to the Mountains and found a community of a few families, removed from the noise and frivolities of society. He said he wanted to call together a few of the best people, who cared more for their minds than for their clothes, and establish homes where they could begin life anew without the annoyances and restrictions of "caste."

So far as the writer knows this was no more remunerative than the poetry of which we have spoken. But to write seems to have been a part of his nature, whether it brought reward or not. The financial panic of 1857 nearly ruined him and he moved to Southern Illinois. There he opened up a small store near Dongola, Union County. This store his boys ran, and he carried on a small farm, some of which was devoted to small fruits. While here he wrote for the "Cleveland Plaindealer" and by his articles for this paper attracted the attention of Artemus Ward with whom he formed a cordial friendship.

When the war broke out Mr. Meeker and his family were subjected to great indignities from the natives of Southern Illinois, nearly all of whom were secessionists. Mrs. Meeker recalls these war times with nearly as much horror as she does the weeks of her captivity among the Indians.

Some writings of Meeker about this time attracted the attention of Horace Greeley, and he telegraphed A. D. Richardson then at Cairo in the interest of *The Tribune*, "Meeker is the man we want." He was engaged as war correspondent at General Grant's headquarters then at Fort Donelson.

At the close of the war, and upon the retirement of Solon Robinson, Mr. Meeker was called to New York and became Agricultural editor of *The Tribune*. Here his reports of the New York Farmer's Club attracted no less attention than did those of his illustrious predecessor. About this time he wrote another book, "Life in the West." His articles on the Oneida community, written at this time, attracted general attention. This work made Meeker famous wherever *The New York Tribune* was read, and in general they entertained high opinions regarding his sagacity and honesty. We have now reached the point in his career when his movements are of especial interest to the people of Greeley. During the autumn of 1869 he started out to make a tour of the West, his final destination being Utah, where he was to write up the Mormons as he had the Oneida community. It may here be said that he was unable to complete this tour and do the thing he was principally sent to do, the Union Pacific being badly blocked by snow when he reached Cheyenne.

His first letter to *The Tribune* is dated Manhattan, Kansas, October 11th, 1869. As this letter contains passages in Mr. Meeker's best vein and also gives characteristic views of his upon life and manners, we quote from it as follows:

"Important changes have taken place in Missouri since the close of the war, and nothing is more evident than that the loss of value in slave property has been more than made good by the advance in the

R. A. Cameron.

price of land, and by the wealth brought into the State by Eastern immigrants. The shabby little stations, the centers and nuclei of which were stores, containing few goods and plenty of whisky, have given place to neat villages of the New England pattern. Fruit and shade trees are young, many of the houses are small, and evidently most of the new comers had little means; but industry and correct ideas are manifest, and in a few years these places will have an aspect common to those parts of the East where culture and refinement prevail. But let no one suppose that New England or Eastern notions are to be reproduced except in part. At St. Louis I attended a meeting where a speaker from Boston delivered an address, but the audience was far from being interested; this the speaker had the wit to perceive, and only a part of the address was read. A friend from New York sitting near me, remarked that an attempt to engraft Boston notions upon the western mind could but end in failure. When a speaker from Chicago arose, not deficient in culture but ready with words which exactly expressed with point and energy the ideas to be conveyed, the audience was aroused, and although the subject was by no means popular, profound attention and even applause were gained. I would say, then, that valued and dear as New England life may be, and great as the influence of its theology and politics have been upon the country at large, it is nevertheless so deeply interwoven with lifeless theories that it is incapable of living again in the West, or of giving any important direction to the development of western society. The reason of this lies in the fact that most of the eastern men came West because they were poor and wished to better their condition; and they found it necessary to adopt new habits, and, indeed, new methods of thinking in order to succeed. To be sure a man coming with money was no exception, but I am sorry to say that money gave him little advantage. A majority lost their capital and had to commence anew; but generally, then, they took hold with energy, and succeeded in gaining more than they lost. These men are now the sharpest and best men in the country, and there are none who have greater contempt than they for Boston esthetics and trancendentalisms. This is most notably the case in those parts of Kansas settled by New Englanders.

"It is important to note that the progress of towns settled by Germans has been exceedingly slow, and that a large admixture of Germans is far from favorable to rapid development. It is true that they build up a village or town after their fashion, and that they slowly make money; but they do not branch out into business and manufactories. It seems to me by their beer-drinking and convivial habits they are made unfitted for engaging in enterprising industries, and incapable of understanding what American progress means. However, when they mix much with western men, and are disassociated to a great extent from their own people, they often imbibe quickly the spirit of the times, and little besides the 'sweet German accent' remains."'

"The southern people and all who sympathized with the rebellion, are equally incapable of resisting the changes now taking place, but are gracefully conforming to them, and, so far as their natures will permit are becoming absorbed. No people change so little as the Irish; they are the same from Massachusetts to Ohio, to Illinois and Kansas, working for day wages. An Irish mechanic, however, soon improves his condition. He gets land, goes into business, and sometimes becomes a leader both of his own and our people. Whether the Roman Catholic church has influence in keeping the great mass in a state of serfdom is, perhaps, uncertain; but I find the clergy everywhere. They are met on railroads and steamboats and wherever a town of any promise springs up, there a Catholic church is built, though there may be not more than half a dozen to attend service." Still the church complains bitterly that a large percentage of the children fall away and are lost; that is, they come to speak the language and to have the habits of the people of the country—in short, they are absorbed. The Swedes who are coming into Kansas in large numbers are much liked; they learn English quickly, their children go to school, and they too, are soon lost.

"This mighty power of absorption is the most astonishing element of modern times, and, in connection with it, the inherent force of the Anglo-Saxon language, in withstanding, unshaken and unscathed, the assaults of alien tongues constantly surging against it, is equally remarkable. The many millions of foreigners poured into the West have not added a single new word or form of expression to our tongue; and all European languages, with their usages, authorities, and grammatical constructions, the growth of ages, and considered worthy of the study of the greatest philologists, here wholly melt away and disappear forever."

The foregoing is quite characteristic, both of Mr. Meeker's style and his speculations concerning races, social tendencies, industrial progress and the general future well-being of the people. While the close critic will see much that is slip-shod both in language and logic, he will also observe a certain clear sightedness in partial views, and a directness of expression that leaves the meaning transparent even when the rhetoric is faulty. His great error lies in making general statements based upon hasty or scanty inductions and before he gets through making admissions that upset his generalizations. His insight about particular things was clear, but both his learning and his knowledge was scrappy, picked up here and there, odds and ends, connected only by a loose association of ideas, not welded together in logical sequence. This mental attitude and habit of thinking were a natural outgrowth of his education, a glimpse of which we have just had. He had learned what he knew by nibbling as he went along the by-ways of knowledge.

His next letter is dated from Sheridan, Kansas, October 15th. In this we get a vivid description of Kansas towns as far West as Ellsworth, then "upon the verge of civilization." Before at Salina an excursion party from New York and Chicago had overtaken Mr. Meeker and he traveled with it as far as the then terminus of the Kansas Pacific, which was at Sheridan quite near the Colorado eastern boundary. We quote the following :

"At this place we joined a party from New York and Chicago among whom were Cyrus W. Field, M. K. Jessup and wife, J. S. Berry and wife, D. S. Eggleston and wife, E. T. Wells, John Ceurar, President of the Chicago, Alton & St. Louis railroad, James Archer, A. D. Richardson, Col. A. Anderson and General Wm. J. Palmer, with a special train, having attached a costly and elegant Pullman sleeping car, dining car and everything needful for a visit to the West and the Great Plains."

"During the afternoon buffalo were seen, and about noon the train stopped at Coyote, that those wishing might have a hunt. Some wild white men on Indian ponies offered their nags, and four or five of the party went out toward a herd perhaps a mile off. Mr. Jessup and A. D. Richardson rode off in fine style, and in a couple of hours they came back having killed one. At sundown they were seen again on both sides of the track in great numbers. On the left two solitary ones raced parallel with the train, and at less than 200 yards distance. Many shots were fired ; they ran about a mile and at last fell. The train was stopped and all went out to take a look at the magnificent game. The sun had just set. The swelling prairie was covered with the short buffalo grass, dead and dry, and the whole scene resembled a broad meadow shaven smooth with a scythe. The imaginative mind might fancy that over the swell an orchard and farm house were to be found ; that in the valley below were the village and church spire. But it was more than a hundred miles to a farm in the east, 300 miles to the west and on the north there were none at all except, perhaps, in British America. It was also 600 miles to Texas on the south, with hostile savages intervening ; in fact they were all around us for aught we knew. However, no one felt any fear with the bright moon shining high and the stars appearing, and even the ladies walked over the clean sod to the fallen monarchs of the plain. After starting, we sat down to a supper which embraced every delicacy, while the buffalo, in thousands upon thousands, were running upon either side. Speeches and friendly interchanges, caused us to linger at the table, for the end of the long journey was near, and the party was soon to separate, some to return, some to go still farther into the heart of this wonderful country of ours."

Mr. A. D. Richardson was of those who returned to meet his tragic end within a few weeks. Here the two friends separated forever. I remember afterwards hearing Mr. Meeker relate his ominous parting words to Mr. Richardson. They were, "We shall meet again at Philippi."

The next letter is from Sheridan, October 22. Here is his description of that place :

"Sheridan is at present the most remarkable place in America, or in the world; its what Cheyenne was a few years ago, the terminus of the road where legitimate business centers, and where the most reckless men and women gather, in order that in the absence of law and in the unprotected state in which property is necessarily placed, they may reap a harvest of plunder. The town is composed of two half streets some 300 feet apart, the railroad being in the center. There are large commercial houses engaged in the Santa Fe trade, holding heavy stocks of staple goods representing capital ranging from $20,000 to $500,000. Some of the stores are as much as 150 feet long, and wide in proportion, and I saw one where many tons of Mexican wool were awaiting shipment. Besides these houses there are a few hotels and several buildings belonging to the railroad and the rest are saloons and gambling establishments, more than fifty in number, all open and apparently doing a good business. In almost every one are women; fiddles and accordeons are playing, glasses jingling ; and there are billiard and roulette tables, and other gambling devices. The men are able-bodied and strong ; few are more than 35 ; the majority are less than 30 years old ; their faces are flushed, their necks red and thick, and they speak as good English as any people in the states, using many common household expressions. But they have a restless, uncertain look and quickness of movement both strange and suspicious, and the more so because connected with much that is home-like and familiar. Of course they are well armed and ready in a moment for attack or defense ; but I saw none who were either offensive or aggressive, though I have every reason to believe that they would commit murder on what we would call the slightest provocation, for they have been so audacious and bold that men of property have been obliged to resolve themselves into a vigilance committee and hang fifteen or twenty. Back of the town is a small graveyard where they have been buried, and only a few days before I arrived, one of them was hanged to the trestle-work a little out of town. For some time past the engineer has been in the habit of moving the morning train slowly over this spot in order that the passengers might see whether any one was hanging there by the neck. Among the aggressive acts of these men, it is related that, at a hotel, one asked a gentleman, sitting opposite, to pass the butter, and not being heard he immediately drew a small pistol and presented it at the head of the gentleman, with his finger on the trigger, saying, 'Pass the butter.'

"Leaving Sheridan in the morning, each with a gun and plenty of ammunition, also with revolvers, two thick blankets for each, a well filled lunch basket and other necessaries, and drawn by four horses, we started for Denver by Fort Lyon and the Arkansas valley, a distance of 355 miles, which is a part of the way the Santa Fe route. By the railroad route the distance is about 100 miles less, but this is not traveled by the coach since it has ceased to be a mail route, and the Indians are troublesome. Our party consisted of four: Cyrus W. Field, Mr. Archer of St. Louis, General Palmer, who was in command of cavalry during the war, and your correspondent. Mr. Field is about fifty years of age, with pleasing and benevolent features, and with rather long hair scarcely turning gray. He is a pleasing companion on a journey and has endured the many hardships of the travel to this place with apparently little fatigue. * * * * It was manifest that the valley of the Smoky, which is as much as two miles wide, could be irrigated, and that highly profitable farms could be made. The great question arises how in the future shall the uplands be brought into cultivation. Water is the great want, and I was told that it had not rained since June. * * * Starting again, we started through large ranches with shabby looking houses, we turned to the left and made for the valley of the Huerfano, when we came upon some extensive ranches, at one of which a steam-engine was threshing wheat. Beyond this we came to a telegraph line which leads from Santa Fe to Denver, 450 miles. Afterwards seeing that it led straight through the country, disdaining to turn to the right or left, and being informed that it was an independent line and wholly built by the people of the two named cities at a cost of $90,000, Mr. Field said it was comparatively as great an enterprise as if the city of New York had built the whole of the Pacific railroad. Five miles farther on we came to the ranch of Colonel Craig. He is the agent of the St. Vrain grant, and has several miles square, which is his own property. He has built a large and elegant house and furnished it handsomely, has a model barn, several hundred head of hogs, vast herds of cattle and a large number of Mexicans as hired help. In many respects he is situated like a baron of olden times. In his garden are all kinds of small fruits; he has apples, peaches and pears yet too young to bear, while clear streams of water run by foot-paths and around flower beds. When it is to be considered that everything had to be hauled by wagons 600 miles from the Missouri river, and that all these improvements have been made since the war, it must be seen that vast work was required. Westward the Huerfano, at no great distance, comes through a canon of a lower spur of the Rocky mountains, looking much like a lofty gateway, while peaks and points of rocks high in the air, and sharply and beautifully cut, charm the eye. Eastward proudly swelling and treeless hills crowned with rich grama grass spread in grand solitude far as the eye can reach. After dinner Colonel Craig brought out a map of a new city to be called Las Animas, and located opposite to Fort Lyon, to which the St. Vrain grant extends, where several of the streets received complimentary names, the chief one leading from the bridge, being called 'Cyrus Field Avenue.' As we were in haste Colonel Craig sent us forward in his fine ambulance, drawn by four elegant horses, to Pueblo, twenty-five miles, while the conveyance in which we came was sent back to Fort Lyon, fifty-two miles.

"Pueblo is a small but growing town on the Arkansas, 120 miles from Denver. Here we stayed over night and were joined by Professor Parry, of the department of agriculture at Washington. Snow fell during the night, and we started for Colorado City with a carriage and only two mules. Progress was slow, and it was evident we could not get through. We now ascended the Fontaine Qui Bouille, a beautiful little river which has so much fall that water is brought above in ditches upon the elevated plain. Ranches became frequent; many of the houses were of adobe or sunburnt brick, occupied by Yankees, but no fences were to be seen. Having a lunch along, we stopped at an adobe house to warm and to eat. Two able bodied men, ragged and dirty, were the occupants, a smouldering fire was in the fire-place, a dirty table was covered with dirty dishes, and there were several large dogs. A good fire was built, and I swept up the hearth with a stump of a broom; one of the men sat on the bedside to grind us some coffee, and he hung a tea kettle over the fire; the other washed the dishes with a small dish cloth and, after squeezing it with one hand, wiped them with it. I have noticed that when men do housework their dish cloths are small, and that while cooking, they smoke a pipe. Three more men then appeared with dogs and guns, and sat on the beds while we ate our lunch. Some of these men were Irish and had served in the Confederate army, or more likely had deserted from it or the Union army; others were from the Northern States, but what they came for we did not learn. When asked why they did not marry they said they had wives in the states, that they were waiting till there was peace with the Indians, not to bring out their wives, but that they might get squaws.

"After traveling thirty-seven miles night came on; it was impossible to go farther, so we stopped at a small house to see if we could get a change of horses or if we could stay for the night. The reply was that they had no horses and there was no room. Mr. Archer went in, and in two minutes we heard a woman say they would do the best they could. The house was about 14 by 16, with a back kitchen, and there were a man and his wife and five grown up young men and women. They were from Iowa and were nice, intelligent people, taking papers and magazines. They seemed to have but two beds, and these were allotted to us, while the family slept, somehow, in the kitchen, except the young men who spread blankets in our room; and when our blankets were spread the whole floor was covered. It had been a cold, snowy, and uncomfortable day, and though we had expected to see the mountains they had not been visible. Mr. Field arose by the break of day, got a good fire started and made us all turn out. He had slept with Mr. Archer, and in the night their bed had broken down, except as to a cross-piece in the middle. So they were sustained like a bridge with its land piers washed away. Word came that the morning was clear, and that Pike's Peak was in sight. We went out and in the dimness a huge hay stack was mistaken for the far-famed mountain, and we looked upon it with appropriate wonder; but as the east reddened, the grand peak itself arose in awful majesty."

We have given the above extended quotation from the last part of this letter in order to show what was the state of affairs Mr. Meeker found in the southeast part of Colorado. Much of the description is fine, and the criticism is sharp and incisive. By some of it he mortally offended the old settlers, especially the bachelors, by reference to their dirty habits and the hint that they were waiting to get squaw wives.

The next letter is dated Denver, October 25, and describes objects around Colorado City and on the way from there to Denver. We have only room to quote the following about the "Divide:"

"We passed many Mexican teams, each consisting of a wagon and of three to six yoke of oxen, hauling lumber to Denver at ten dollars per thousand, although the distance must be fifty miles. I find nothing in this country so cheap as team work. Day laborers get from two and a half to three dollars per day, while servant girls are in demand at from twenty to thirty dollars a month for plain, easy work; while cooks and first-class house-workers get from forty to sixty dollars. This divide is worthy of special notice. It is about twenty-five miles wide and seventy-five long, and 7,000 feet above the level of the sea. On the top of this divide we found prairies of several hundred acres, surrounded by pine forests, and we traveled for miles through a beautiful country, well watered and with most enchanting scenery in view. Here and there ranches have been opened, and everywhere the soil was rich and deep. It is to be noted in particular that upon this divide irrigation is wholly unnecessary, for rain falls as frequently as in Ohio or New York. The greater part of this country is government land which can be pre-empted or homesteaded. A slight drawback has hitherto existed in consequence of Indian invasions, and I was told that last year they drove $500,000 worth of stock out of the country, and that they robbed and murdered within a few miles of Denver. So it may be supposed the people have no romantic notions regarding the Indians; and it is customary to term a warrior and his squaw as Mr. and Mrs. Lo! which is a contemptuous reference to Pope's words, 'Lo, the poor Indian,' etc.

"After we began to descend from the Divide farms were frequent, and many were enclosed with good board fences. It was told that in the valleys, parallel with the mountains, there were choice farms in a good state of cultivation. At Russellville, which is on Cherry creek, where the first gold was found, we staid over night, and although the landlord took *The Tribune*. I had to sleep on the floor, and got up in the morning rather worse for the wear. The morning was raw enough and we rode rapidly through the wind and a beautiful, thinly settled country, and the distance to Denver, thirty-five miles, was made in three hours and a half. Here a nice room, with a fire in it, awaited me."

Here we may in passing note the mal-adroitness of Mr. Meeker, and the way he made enemies of the old settlers. The landlord at Russellville takes *The Tribune* and will be sure to read Mr. Meeker's letter and see the contemptuous reference to himself. But Mr. Meeker believed that he deserved a little castigation, and could not let the opportunity slip, whatever the future consequence to himself. It may be said that he did not then foresee the part he was to play in settling

Colorado and helping to shape her destinies. This is in part true. But while in the vicinity of Pike's Peak the idea of founding a colony, near where Colorado Springs now stands, occurred to Mr. Meeker, but he had the sagacity not to mention this in his letter of this date to *The Tribune*, and indeed has but little to say about it as a point desirable for settlers. We may here further observe that one of Mr. Meeker's traveling companions, General Palmer, was the man who, in two years from that time, planned, and with the aid of General Cameron, carried out the founding of Colorado Springs. One of his other companions, Colonel James Archer, remained in Denver and became one of its most famous citizens. Both gentlemen were at this time representatives of the Kansas Pacific railroad and had before been in Denver carrying on negotiations looking towards the completion of the road to that city.

The following is the account that Mr. Meeker gives of the Denver of those days:

"Denver is on the south bank of the southern fork of the Platte, fifteen miles from the mountains. It contains 7,000 inhabitants. The business houses are well built; none of the early shanties remain; and I compare the place to a first-class interior town in Illinois or Ohio, while it does far more business. In many respects it resembles Chicago. The business men are as sober, as upright and as exemplary as in any other city, but they have a brusque rapid way. Everybody is busy, and the clerks look a good deal like boys that have just been washed and have neglected to comb their hair. As the city is out on the great plains, and below the divide, rain seldom falls, and cultivation would be without reward were it not for the introduction of water from the Platte, which, being taken out of this stream, twenty-four miles above the city, runs along the gutters of every street, and into gardens, and furnishes water for grist-mills. It is intended to extend ditches to higher grounds south of the town, where a vast extent of country can be watered, and besides, a water power can be obtained with one hundred feet fall."

Here he gives an abstract of the report of the Denver Board of Trade, showing the wealth and business of the place to be immense compared to its population, and he then proceeds:

"This is said of a town less than ten years old, which once was nearly destroyed by fire, once swept by a flood, once without a mail for the space of three months on account of Indian hostilities, and which even now is surrounded by a country so little settled that a farm house can scarcely be seen, although an uninterrupted view is had as far as the eye can reach."

Then follow accounts of buildings, manufactories, industries, etc., and we further quote:

"I was shown some large cottonwood trees, where they used to hang the villlains, and I might add, in several other towns they show hanging places erected by vigilance committees. Crimes now in Denver are rare, and burglary and theft are almost unknown. In fact it is a most law-abiding city. Mechanics of all kinds are needed, and men with capital to engage in all kinds of manufactories. In addition to the water power, coal is hauled ten miles and sold at ten dollars per ton, and the supply is inexhaustible. The variety is a lignite which burns with a light, clear flame, containing neither gas nor sulphur. It is reduced to ashes without a particle of clinker. More than this, when the fire gets low it does not collapse and go out like an anthracite fire, but if encouraged it sparkles and glows like the pleasant laughter arising out of a smile. Those who are tortured with the sulkiness and mephitic deadly gas of anthracite, and with puffing, smudge and smut of bituminous coal, will know how to appreciate the beauties of this lignite, which burns with the pleasing vivilized blaze of a wood fire, and without sending out any black dust to settle on one's necktie or shirt bosom, or ruffles hanging on the clothes-line to dry."

While at Denver, Mr. Meeker was invited by Governor McCook to to be present at a distribution of goods to the Indians, and his remarks about the race have a renewed interest on account of his melancholy fate at the hands of these same Ute Indians, hence we quote a part:

"Arriving at the warehouse, at the designated hour, the Indians made their appearance to the number of 103, riding on ponies. This tribe lives in the heart of the Rocky Mountains and is entirely wild, but for some five years has been at peace with the whites, though at war with the Cheyennes and other tribes. There were about forty men, each man riding; the rest were women and children, two, three and four mounted on one animal. It was a cold, yet sloppy day, and the snow fell fast. A few of the men wore hats, the rest had blankets on their heads, wearing long, black hair, with little or no beard. I took them to be women, for the dress of both sexes is much alike. Their faces were painted with vermillion, which gave a brilliant sunset appearance. Some wore broadcloth, others linen, others black alpaca coats. Some had buckskin leggins, and others wore jeans pantaloons, stitched through and through close to the leg, leaving much of the cloth extending like the back of a fish. They wore buckskin hunting suits adorned with bead-work, paint and fringe, but there seemed no order or fit to their clothes.

"The women and girls were dressed much in the same way, but they had rather more clothing, and it seemed to be held together by straps and strings and without any regard to shape, cut or fit, unless I except their buckskin leggins and moccasins. When the door was opened they all crowded in, the men seating themselves on sacks of some kind, and in the front of the room, while the women and children went back, stumbling and tripping themselves on parts of their garments, and seated themselves on the floor around the wall. Part of the children had old shoes, which they had picked up in the streets, and some little fellows were bare to the knees. As many as fifteen women had infants which they carried on their backs in a sort of cradle which fitted the infant's body all around and covered it up as much as a box nailed down tight. The back or bottom part seemed to be a board which extended above the head and ended in a circle like the top of a rounded tombstone, while it projected in a hood. The apparatus was held by a strap passing over the mother's breast and shoulders, and she carried her offspring much as a traveler carries a pack. When the mother sat down she slipped the strap over her head, and brought the baby and its case around in front, and all that could be seen of the little chap was that part of the face included between the eyes and mouth; and though the projecting hood seemed to prevent a desired object from being attained, they seemed to get along well enough in this affair. After the refreshment the young person was made to stand in its casket against the wall, when the little girls, girl-like, crowded around and kissed it again and again. The women were seated back against the wall, the girls in front, but in front of all were placed the boys, even if they were infants, which was a putting of the best foot foremost. An Indian woman is held in little esteem. She bears burdens, makes fires, cooks, paints her husband, clothes him, watches while he sleeps, trembles while he wakes, and when he is satisfied, eats if anything is left. There were a few women said to be over a hundred years old. Their hair was gray and they tottered as they walked. I noticed one middle-aged, active, and rather good-looking woman rise to fix her dress. She completed her arrangements by tying around her waist a cord of rawhide, and drew it as firmly and taut as one would tie a bale of goods to be sent on a long journey. In the distribution of the goods Governor McCook disregarded the superior claims of the male sex, for the women received as much as the men and the girls as much as the boys, and if a girl was so young that she could only walk, a blanket was thrown over her head, and it was interesting to see her clutch it and press it in her arms. As fast as they received they passed out of the door into the snowstorm, skipping lightly and smiling from ear to ear. Of the whole tribe none could speak our tongue except the babies, and they cried in genuine English. Then we have some speculations upon the physical and mental characteristics ending thus:

"The extension of a fine, nervous organization is impossible in the Indian, because he is without brain to originate and support it. Only after many ages can a brain capable of such production be developed, and I am free to say when the savage progresses out of his present state the chief work will be done by woman, she will lead the way by giving increased care to the child. It seems to me that it would be impious to assume that in the great hereafter no opportunity is to be afforded for these poor children of nature to rise to a higher state."

We next have a racy letter dated at Central City, October 28. It gives a description of mines, their management, and the life of the miner, but we must refrain from farther quotation. In the next we have an account of the journey from Denver to Cheyenne, and are informed that the Denver Pacific will reach Evans in a month. He gives a short sketch of the country between Cheyenne and Omaha, over which he passed on the Union Pacific railroad, only completed so that travel could be through to the Pacific about one year before.

# CHAPTER II.

MR. MEEKER COMMUNICATES HIS SCHEME OF A COLONY—HIS CIRCULAR OF INVITATION, AND ITS ENDORSEMENT BY HORACE GREELEY IN THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE--RESPONSE TO THE CALL AND THE COOPER INSTITUTE MEETING—THE DRAFTING OF A CONSTITUTION BY N. C. MEEKER AND THE APPOINTMENT OF A LOCATING COMMITTEE.

WHEN Mr. Meeker returned to New York, he first unfolded his purpose of founding a colony in Colorado to his wife. She, with her usual courage and confidence in her husband's good judgment at last consented, but somewhat reluctantly, as they were then comfortably situated in a suburb of New York, and having been a pioneer before in two different localities, she did not relish encountering the privations and hardships of a third. The farther steps taken in this direction we will leave Mr. Meeker himself to tell, as he did at the first anniversary of the colony, April 5th, 1871.

"John Russell Young, now editor of *The New York Standard*, formerly managing editor of *The New York Tribune*, from which he was then displaced by the machinations of Mr. Dana, of *The Sun*, having time on his hands, and having also been in Colorado, I mentioned to him the colonial idea. Being a special friend of mine, and having most engaging manners, he had great influence, not only with financial but with literary men, and he still continued to be a great favorite with Mr. Greeley. He at once considered the plan an excellent one, and we agreed that he should mention the matter to Mr. Greeley, for I considered it an important point gained, that the initiation of the movement should be made in this manner. It so happened that Mr. Greeley was remarkably well informed in regard to Colorado, perhaps he knew more about it than a great many of the citizens.

"A short time afterwards a press dinner was given, I think at Delmonico's, and being present and in the thick of the crowd, Mr. J. B. Lyman, who had become agricultural editor of *The Tribune*, told me that Mr. Greeley wanted to see me. I would say here what many would like to know, that it is the wife of Mr. Lyman who writes those interesting articles in *The New York Tribune* under the title of "Home

Interests" and she is a writer eminently fitted for the place.*

"Going to Mr. Greeley, I saw he was in remarkably fine spirits, and he said: 'I understand you have a notion to start a colony to go to Colorado.' I said, 'Yes.' 'Well,' said he, 'I wish you would take hold of it, for I think it will be a great success, and if I could, I would go myself. Having such powerful backing, I spent the whole of the next day in writing the short article, which first appeared, and in arranging the general plan which afterwards was embraced in the constitution. I then took it to Mr. Greeley and read it to him, when he said he could tell nothing about it till he saw it in print. It was therefore printed and sent to him, when he suggested the plan of having the town divided into blocks of ten acres each, and after being corrected in detail, and kept on hand for more than a week, that there might be due reflection and no haste, it was finally published with an editorial endorsement from Mr. Greeley in the daily, December 14th, and then in the semi-weekly and weekly following. The response was almost overwhelming, and Mr. Greeley said I should hear from over a thousand people, which I could not believe; but before two months had passed over, three thousand were written.

The first and only meeting was held December 23d. When I got into the city in the morning I found quite a crowd of men in the publication office, from various parts of the country, waiting to see me; and going up to the editorial room on the fourth floor, I met men on the stairs and found them in the various rooms, all of which so confounded me I did not know what to do. Among others was a large, tall man, with a broad brimmed hat, who said he had been in the army where his sight had become impaired; and that he had had losses and troubles, and that he had published a paper in Indiana, and that he would like to go into the movement. Just then somebody came up, and I did not see him again until at the meeting where he made a short speech, which was received with great applause, and from that day to this he has been a chief supporter and laborer; indeed, I know of no one who has contributed so much valuable service, and him you all know and will be glad to hear—General Cameron."

We have seen in the above address of N. C. Meeker, published as I have quoted it in *The Greeley Tribune* of the 13th following, the part in this matter assigned to Mr. John Russell Young, and we have also seen the part assigned to Mr. Greeley. General Cameron was present as we have seen and introduced most flatteringly by Mr. Meeker, and in his speech following he in no way contradicts a single statement. The speech is almost wholly a series of exaggerated statements about climate, fertility of the soil, scenery, etc. Fourteen years afterwards, when Mr. Meeker was nearly five years in his grave, General Cameron, at a mass meeting of the people of Greeley, on the Fourth of July, 1885, in his speech on that occasion said, as reported in *The Greeley Tribune* following :

---

*The Lyman boys now here and Miss Carrie Lyman, who was here some three years, and attended our High School, are sons and daughter of the above.

"It was in December, 1869, that the first call was made for a meeting for the formation of this colony. It is a question, and must remain a question, who first suggested the idea of establishing this colony. John Russell Young (now) minister to China claims it. Mr. Greeley thought he did, and Mr. Meeker thought he did. But it was agreed that Mr. Meeker should write a letter for publication in *The New York Tribune*, asking those who thought of moving West to establish a colony with high moral purposes, and temperance platform, to get together in Cooper Institute on the day before Christmas."

We want our readers to mark carefully the statements made in the last sentence about the contents of Mr. Meeker's call, and then compare it with the call as we give it below. It will be seen that the General says that this call was for a meeting to meet at the Cooper Institute, when no such thing is mentioned in it. On the contrary, the call, as endorsed by Mr. Greeley, asks those who wish to join in such a colony to write to Mr. Meeker, and not a word is said about the Cooper Institute meeting which figures so largely in the General's eyes because he came there on the scene for the first time. If John Russell Young suggested the idea to Mr. Meeker why did Mr. Meeker, in the speech published and probably corrected by him for his paper, not say so, as Mr. Young was no doubt getting the paper, since he was much interested in Colony affairs, and *The Standard* which he published was quoting articles about the colony. There appears no evidence that Mr. Young ever made any such claim ; and Ralph Meeker, in a recent communication to the author on this point says :

"It has been stated that Mr. Young told General Cameron that he suggested the first idea of locating the Union Colony on its present site. As I have talked with Mr. Young about the matter and seen him probably fifty times within the last year, I can throw some light on this question of location. Mr Young had visited the Cache La Poudre valley and favored it as a location for a colony when my father brought up the subject after he returned to New York. But Mr. Young saw the river at the La Porte crossing where the stage coaches ran between Denver and Cheyenne. * * Mr. Young told me emphatically last spring in London, that to Mr. Meeker belonged the honor and glory of originating the Union Colony and founding the town of Greeley. But by this, does any one suppose that my father had no assistance in carrying out the great enterprise of his own projection ?"

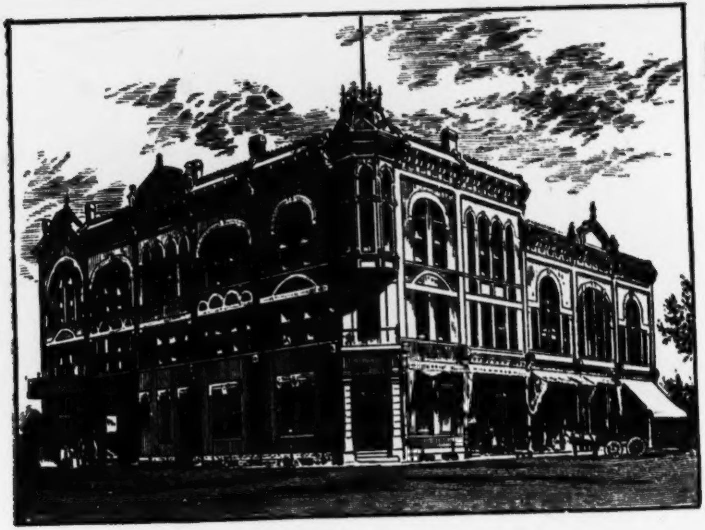
It is needful now to insert in full Mr. Meeker's circular and Mr. Greeley's endorsement which appear to me the best refutation of the assertion of General Cameron that Horace Greeley claimed the honor of having originated the colonial scheme.

"I propose to unite with the proper persons in establishing a colony in Colorado Territory.

"A location which I have seen is well watered with streams and springs, there are beautiful pine groves, the soil is rich, the climate healthful, grass will keep stock the year round, coal and stone are plentiful, and a well traveled road runs through the property. The land is either subject to entry under the homestead law, or it has not yet been brought into market; but it can be settled upon without other cost than eighteen dollars for 160 acres. In addition, the Rocky Mountain scenery is the grandest, and the most enchanting in America. I have never seen a place which presents so many advantages and opportunities.

"The persons with whom I would be willing to associate must be temperance men, and ambitious to establish good society, and among as many as fifty, ten should have as much as $10,000, or twenty $5,000 each, while others may have $200 to $1,000, or upwards. For many to go without means can only result in disaster. After a time poorer people can be received and have a chance.

"My own plan would be to make the settlement almost wholly in a village, and to divide the land into lots of ten acres, and to divide these into eight lots for building purposes; and then to apportion to each family from forty to eighty, even 160 acres, adjoining the village. Northampton, Massachusetts, and several other New England towns and villages were settled in this manner, but some improvements are suggested. Since some outlying tracts will be more desirable than others, a preference may be secured by selling them at auction, and the proceeds of such appropriated to the use of the colony; and all the lots of the village should be sold, that funds may be obtained for making improvements for the common good—such as the building of a church, a town hall, a school house, and for the establishment of a library, by which means the lots will be worth five or ten times more than they cost; and one of the very first public institutions should be a first-class school, in which not only the common, but the higher branches, should be taught, including music. The town of Lincoln, the capital of Nebraska, adopted this plan on a large scale,



GREELEY OPERA HOUSE.

and several hundred thousand dollars have already been obtained.

"Some of the advantages of settling in a village, willl be: easy access to schools and public places, meetings, lectures and the like; and society can be had at once. In planting, in fruit growing and improving homes generally, the skill and experience of a few will be common to all, and much greater progress can be made than where each lives isolated; It seems to me that a laundry and bakery could be established, and the washing and baking could be done for all the community; but other household work should be done by the families. In all this, the separate household, and the ownership of property, should be without change; and I only propose that, if there are any advantages in co-operation, they could be secured by a colony. Cheap rates of freight and passage could be secured, while many things, which all will want in the commencement, can be bought at wholesale. There are some other advantages which I think such a town will possess, and they are important; but in this commencement I do not think proper to mention them; and, there are besides, of course, disadvantages.

"Farmers will be wanted, nurserymen, florists, and almost all kinds of mechanics, as well as capitalists, to use the coal and water power in running machinery. Inasmuch as millions of acres of excellent grass are in the vicinity, and which for years will lie open. Stock can be kept by each family, and at a small expense it can be cared for by herdsmen, employed by the people. The profit of stock-growing can be considered certain, for the locality is not as far from the Missouri river as Texas, whence immense numbers of cattle are driven. Besides, railroads are nearly completed, and a railroad is almost certain to pass through the land I refer to. The establishment of a colony would hasten the day.

"After the colony shall be organized, it will be proper to appoint a committee of good men to visit the country and fix on a location; for there are other places, and a choice is to be made.

"The first settlers must, of course, be pioneers, for houses, mills and mechanic shops, are to be built, that families may come with few privations, and as long as six months will be required.

"Whatever professions and occupations enter into the formation of an intelligent, educated and thrifty community, should be embraced by this colony, and it should be the object to exhibit what is best in modern civilization.

"In particular, should moral and religious sentiments prevail; for without these qualities man is nothing. At the same time tolerance and liberality should also prevail. One thing more is equally importtant: happiness, wealth, and the glory of a state spring from the family, and it should be an aim and a high ambition to preserve the family pure in all its relations, and to labor with the best efforts life and strength can give to make the home comfortable, to beautify and adorn it, and to supply it with whatever will make it attractive and loved.

"This is in the vicinity of the mining region, which is destined to be developed more and more for years to come; and, besides silver and gold, there are all other kinds of metals, and the market for every kind of farm product is as good as in New York, perhaps better. It is decidedly a healthful region; the air is remarkably pure, summer is pleasant, the winter is mild, with little snow, and agues are unknown. Already consumptives are going there for their health, and tourists and visitors will find great attractions during the summer. Mineral springs are near, and perhaps on the locality I refer to. Deer, antelope, wild turkeys, prairie chickens and speckled trout, abound; but at present there are too many wolves and bears.

"I make the point that two important objects will be gained by such a colony. First schools, refined society, and all the advantages of an old country will be secured in a few years; while on the contrary, where settlements are made by the old methods, people are obliged to wait twenty, forty, or more years; second, with free homesteads as a basis, with the sale of reserved lots for the general good, the greatly increased value of real estate will be for the benefit of all the people, not for schemers and speculators. In the success of this colony a model will be presented for settling the remainder of the vast territory of our country.

"Persons wishing to unite in such a colony will please address me at *The Tribune* office, stating their occupation, and the value of the property which they could take with them.

N. C. MEEKER."

In the same issue of *The Tribune* appeared the following, by the editor of *The Tribune*:

"We are often tauntingly asked, 'If you are so fond of farming and country life why don't you try them?' Our answer is short and simple—*We do.* Every one of us who can afford it has his home in the country, and spends there all the time he can snatch from pressing duties, and hopes for the day when he can enjoy there more and more hours of each week, and ultimately all of them. At present, the oldest of our writers, Solon Robinson, is wintering in Florida, as he has done for several past winters; the rest of us would gladly do likewise if we might. But work has claims to which comfort must defer.

"Mr. Nathan C. Meeker, for many years connected with *The Tribune*, as he expects to be for many more, proposes to plant a colony in an admirable location discovered by him on his recent trip to the Rocky Mountains. It combines remarkable healthfulness, with decided fertility, and facility of cultivation, an abundance of serviceable timber, with water in plenty for irrigation, as well as power, beauty of landscape and scenery with exemption from disagreeable neighbors; and a railroad will soon bring it within three days of St. Louis, and five of New York. Knowing Mr. Meeker (who is a practical farmer) to be eminently qualified for *leading* and *founding* such a colony, we advise temperate, moral, industrious, intelligent men, who would like to make homes in the far west, to read his letter herewith published; and should his plan suit them, write to him, *not us*, on the subject.' "

It will be observed above that Horace Greeley distinctly recommends Mr. Meeker as the *leader* and *founder* of a colony in a place discovered by him on his recent trip to the Rocky Mountains. How then could Horace Greeley have any claim to be the originator of the idea? General Cameron knew all this, for he had read Meeker's circular and Greeley's endorsement and had gone to the Cooper Institute meeting, which was called by Mr. Meeker, through a notice in *The Tribune* about a week after the issuing of the circular, and after he had received, perhaps, 1000 letters. The writer never heard the claim of N. C. Meeker, as originator of the colony scheme questioned until the General did it as related above, and it thunderstruck him and every old colonist, so far as he knows, who heard it. Of course it was well known that in 1873 the two had quarreled over politics, as will hereafter be related, but as the General is usually magnanimous and forgiving, no one was prepared for this insidious thrust at a dead enemy who, up to the time of the dispute referred to, had been eulogized by him on every convenient public occasion.

The following is a report of the "Cooper Institute" meeting as given in *The New York Tribune*, reported by Ralph Meeker:

"Room No. 24, Cooper Institute, was crowded to overflowing, last Thursday, with gentlemen from all parts of the country, to attend the colony meeting which was announced in *The Tribune* a few days ago. Horace Greeley was appointed chairman. He opened the meeting with a brief address as follows:"

"This is a meeting of persons who propose emigrating in a colony to the West. The first thing to be done is to organize. One man can do the work of a hundred. I believe that there ought to be not only one but one thousand colonies. Still, I would advise no one who is doing well to leave his business and go West, unless he is sure of bettering his condition. But there are many men working for wages, who ought to emigrate. I dislike to see men in advanced life working for salaries in places where, perhaps, they are ordered about by boys. I would like to see them working for themselves."

"I do not know that emigration is the best remedy, but I think so. New York is filled with people; yet there are thousands who want to come hither, never thinking that the cost of living eats up the greater part of their earnings. Mr. Meeker does not wish to give the locality of the place where it is proposed to establish the colony, for speculators will flock in and buy up all the desirable land. That is the way things are done nowadays."

"N. C. Meeker, the originator of the colony movement said:"

"About one thousand letters have been received, which are filed away. The writers represent all pursuits and professions, and their aggregate wealth exceeds $1,500,000. As to Indian troubles, I think it is an answer to say that I propose to take my own family. Let us look at some of the difficulties. First: In settling in a village, the lots are to be sold for establishing schools and a library, etc.; but it is impossible that all should have 160 acres near by. Mechanics, professional men and others, can choose all the way from three to forty and eighty acres, according to distance, and some can have other pieces in addition; but the aggregate should be equal in value to 160 acres farther away and devoted to farming. All the details should be so arranged that one will have no better chance than another. It is to be remembered that the nature of the country is such that, in addition, immense quantities of land can be used for growing stock, which will be a profitable pursuit. Second: In taking homestead land, speculators will come in as soon as the location is made, and before the rest can come on, and buy the remainder, and then there will be a struggle with land sharks. We must be sharper than this. I think that so soon as the location is made, money should be ready to buy all that the members want in a solid block. With agricultural college scrip it can be had at not much over ninety cents per acre. Third: Irrigation is necessary in Colorado, except in one place; and there is not land enough in the locality for so many as want to go; but it is said there is rain here. There are other places, and time will be required. We should seek, 1st, healthfulness; 2d, a varied and rich soil suited for grass; 3rd, coal or timber, if possible both; 4th, iron ore; 5th, the adaptation to fruit; 6th, water power; 7th, beautiful scenery. The interests of so many intelligent, industrious and well-to-do families must not be put in jeopardy for want of thorough investigation on the part of the Locating Committee. The leading object is to have schools, churches and good society; and those who are idle, immoral, intemperate or inefficient, need not apply, for they will not be received; nor would they feel at home. A man with a family will require as much as $500, and even then there will be privations."

"Mr Greeley said that he was the descendant of ancestors who were the founders of one of the most noted colonies in the country—the Londonderry Colony, in New Hampshire—and to-day some of these descendants own the land on which they dwell. Each man had a few rods on the road, running back a mile, making 160 acres. The Salt Lake plan is good. The Mormons are a clever people. Their plan is to put eight settlers on ten acres, allowing each man 1¼ acres. He agreed with the remarks made by Mr. Meeker, and he believed in irrigation. A very little water goes a great deal further than people generally suppose. In California, they use much more than is necessary. In regard to emigration, he said a great many people would find, when they came to sell their places, that their funds would be smaller than they anticipated. There are numbers of young men who have little money, but they are just as good as those who have more. He would get a deed of the land on which the colonists propose to settle before the village was staked out. All of the settlers will not have the same plans. Some will have children to educate, and they will want to live near schools. Others who desire to raise stock, had just as soon live two or three miles out of town. It is impossible to make rules for all. The small tract system will not succeed in a new country, for, when people get out on the prairies, a feeling of expansion takes hold of them. He would not have *less than 160 acres if he were going to emigrate, even if he did not want to use it for several years.* A working secretary should be appointed to answer letters, etc. The man who wants information ought to be willing to pay for it. But a printed circular would answer nine-tenths of the questions. An executive committee and a committee of location should be appointed." It will be seen that, in the report, Mr. Meeker is called the *originator* of the *colony movement*, and this in Mr. Greeley's own paper, and yet Mr. Cameron, who knew all this, says that Greeley claimed that he was the originator. Then was the time to have made it. The report says further:

"A provisional committee was then appointed to nominate officers. The meeting was then adjourned until 3 o'clock, when resolutions were adopted in substance as follows:

"That the colony be called "Union Colony," the officers of which were then elected, namely: N. C. Meeker, president; General R. A. Cameron, vice-president; Horace Greeley, treasurer.

"Executive Committee: Richmond Fisk, Hoosick Falls, N. Y.; Arthur Murphy, Brooklyn; Nathaniel Paul, N. H.; C. O. Poole, New York City; G. C. Shelton, Conn.

"That each member pay $5 for current expenses, and also hold subject to the call of the treasurer, $150 for a purchase fund for the land to be bought, and that no member can buy more than 160 acres; and that said money shall be refunded if the land is not settled within a reasonable period, to be prescribed by the Executive Committee.

"The number of persons who paid the initiation fee of $5 was fifty-nine. The greatest enthusiasm prevailed, and all agreed that they had never attended a more harmonious meeting. Many had come without money who promised to send it upon their return home. Those willing to subscribe to the general plan of the colony as has been stated, and to contribute to the locating committee fund, may do so by forwarding their address and $5 to the treasurer, Horace Greeley, at *The Tribune* office. This amount from each member is necessary to enable the committee to go West and select the desired location. Farther notice of future movements will be given through the columns of *The Tribune*."

Soon after this, appeared the constitution of the colony, drafted by N. C. Meeker, and when submitted to Horace Greeley and others, as his wife informs me, was allowed to stand as he wrote it without the suggestion of a single change. This document will be found in Appendix A.

## CHAPTER III.

THE LOCATING COMMITTEE JOINED BY H. T. WEST AT OMAHA—VISITS DENVER, COLORADO SPRINGS, AND THE COUNTRY ABOUT CANON CITY—CANNOT GET INTO SAN LUIS VALLEY FOR THE SNOW—RETURNS NORTH—VISITS BIG BEND, EVANS, POUDRE VALLEY—GOES INTO UTAH—RETURNS TO NEW YORK—REPORTS TO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—SENT BACK AND SELECT PRESENT SITE OF TOWN AND COLONY—WHY NAMED GREELEY.

AN announcement appeared soon after the above, stating that the Locating Committee would start out early in February. The committee consisted of Meeker, Cameron, and a certain Mr. Fisk of Toledo. This committee was selected by the Executive Committee above named, and this Mr. Fisk was not of it, and does not seem ever to have been a colonist. His name is not found in the list that paid at New York $150 apiece. He probably only paid the initiation fee of five dollars.

The committee was joined by H. T. West, of Chicago, at Omaha. He had written to Mr. Meeker at New York that he would like to join the committee in its tour of inspection, and would bear his own expense, which he did.

They went by the Union Pacific Railway to Cheyenne, and thence to Evans, then the terminus of the Denver Pacific, where it was building the Platte bridge. Thence they went by stage to Denver. From there they went south with ex-Territorial Governor Hunt, who was well acquainted with the country, and of great use to them.

They visited first with a view to a choice of the location near Pike's Peak which had attracted the attention of Mr. Meeker, but it was found, as suspected, too small, and the water supply too limited for the large agricultural community which it was now necessary to provide for. The country above Pueblo, on the Arkansas, was next visited, but there could not be found at that place any large body of farming land together, and there appeared to be difficulties about building ditches greater than were found where the selection was finally made. They endeavored to reach the San Luis Park, but could not for the deep snow on the range north of it.

They then returned north and met Governor Evans, who advised them to look up the country around the town bearing his name. They did so, and more especially the "Big Bend," southwest of Evans, and were favorably impressed with it. Evans was rejected as a town site because there was already at that place the remains of a railroad building population, and the whole site could not be controlled so as to keep out intoxicating liquors by forfeiture clauses in the deeds.

After this the Poudre valley was visited. We have seen that John Russell Young had recommended it to Mr. Meeker. Also B. H. Eaton had written a letter to N. C. Meeker at New York, after he had read his circular recommending the Poudre valley. Mr. Eaton tells me that he had in mind the Box Elder valley, northwest of Fort Collins, as a suitable site for a small colony of fifty families, such as Meeker contemplated when he published his first circular, and not the site on the Denver Pacific railroad, which was selected by the committee afterwards. This land Mr. Eaton considered too poor and likely to give out after a year or two of cropping. The committee did not see Mr. Eaton on its first trip, nor until after the selection was made, when he met them at Evans, where he was attending a meeting of the County Commissioners, of whom he was one. Mr. Eaton relates that when he saw Mr. Meeker here, the latter approached him cordially and said, "Now, Ben, you have been instrumental in getting us located in this valley and you must stick by us and help us out;" which he most loyally did, but with the apprehensions before narrated about the wisdom of the choice. General Cameron, with his usual inaccurracy of detail and defective memory, says, in this same Fourth of July oration: "At one time I believed we would locate in the Big Bend region, near Platteville. Mr. Meeker was earnest in his desire to locate there, and I liked the location myself. But we met a friend and adviser in the person of our honored Governor, Benjamin H. Eaton, who had a good deal to say about the soil and his experience in this country and New Mexico, and his persuasion brought us here to the Poudre valley."

It may be that Mr. Cameron here only refers to the letter received by Mr. Meeker in New York, but one would be led to believe that the committee had an interview with him, and that he advised the very location selected.

However, no selection was made at this first trip, and the committee was sagacious enough not to indicate any preference for fear it would be claimed all around by people here in advance, and so as to be bought out at high figures. Mr. West had gone on ahead to examine Evanston, on the Union Pacific in Wyoming. Some railroad officials in Chicago were desirous of having the colony settle here, but Mr. West found the place, both from altitude and limited area, not desirable for an agricultural colony. They all went on from here to Utah, and Mr. West, who had been there before and had relatives and acquaintances, made the rest acquainted, and the leading Mormon dignitaries of church and state treated them with much consideration, and gave them all the information they could about crops, fruit culture, irrigation, etc. They visited the Bear river country above Ogden, with a view to location, and liked it much. No selection, however, was now made here or elsewhere. The committee returned to New York and reported to the Executive Committee, West stopping at Chicago, and Fisk at Toledo. So far as I can learn, this latter gentleman took but little interest in the selection of a suitable site, and Mr. West, who was not of the board, was much more consulted, and found very useful. Fisk left the committee by mutual consent, and West was put on in his place, but did not join it again until he met the other two members at Evans, he having been notified of his appointment by telegraph. The Executive Committee had now sent back these three men to make a permanent selection and the present site was selected, we believe, wisely. So far as I can see, equal credit is due to each of the three, the choice at last being unanimous. However, it was far from the ideal site contemplated by Mr. Meeker and Mr. Greeley in the articles coming from the pens of these gentlemen, and above quoted at length.

In the first place, the land all along the river was already settled, or at least in the hands of third parties. It had been expected to settle on government land and buy it with Agricultural College scrip at 90 cents per acre. But the railroad owned alternate sections of the land not settled, and this was held at from $3 to $4 per acre. The area of land purchased from individuals was 2,592 28-100 acres at a cost of $27,982.30 and from the railroad 9,324 6-100 acres at a cost of $31,058.58, an expenditure of nearly $60,000 for less than 12,000 acres. There was a contract made with the Denver Pacific railway for 50,000 acres of land, which was to be held for members of Union Colony for three years, the price to be $3, $3.50, or $4 per acre according to the respective dates of buying it. Pre-emption filings were made, I suppose in fictitious names, on the government sections adjoining the railroad land under contract, and the land office fees paid by the colony managers. These filings were supposed to hold these lands six months, with not a soul on them or near them. They could have been jumped any day but there was but little of this, as it was set down as a policy of the colony that water from its canals would only be granted to colonists.

It may here as well as elsewhere be said, that nearly all the lands whose products have built up Greeley, were these government lands and railroad lands not owned by the colony. The greater part of the lands purchased were of small value. They were scattered along the Poudre from its mouth to a point three miles west of the railroad, on the bluffs south of town and above water, on the Delta so called and about four sections north and east of town across the river. With the exception of these last named sections and about 2000 acres—a part of the town site—and land immediately west of town, the rest never has been good for much. The bottom land is scarcely to-day worth more than the colony paid for it—that is about $12 per acre. Some 1,200 acres above No. 3 were sold by the colony years afterwards for less than it cost. The same is true of a half section purchased on the Platte below the mouth of the Thompson, and which was mostly in the bed of that stream, of which a wit has said, "it is a river three-fourths of a mile wide and three-fourths of an inch deep." Three eighties, bought near the mouth of the Thompson, were equally worthless, and were given away as a bonus towards building the "Plumb" bridge across the Platte. These latter two tracts of land were undoubtedly bought without seeing them otherwise than on the map, and were in every way a bad investment. Besides, in making purchases from the railroad, some lands were bought from it which had been previously filed upon, and these lands, a later decision of the department of the Interior declared, formed no part of the railroad land grant. So one quarter section west of Albert Howard's place has been reclaimed by Mr. Butler who originally filed upon it, and he has made good his claim to the total loss of those holding title from Union Colony. Mr. Butler was living in Cheyenne at the time the colony settled here, and the land was apparently abandoned. But a decision of the land office that those driven off by the Indians had a right to return, enabled him to reclaim his abandoned claim.

When a decision had been reached by the Locating Committee to settle here, the utmost caution and dispatch were necessary in order to be able to purchase out the old settlers before they knew that the site had been fixed here. Wm. N. Byers, who had been actively engaged in helping the committee, advised that some of the old settlers be let into the secret and be taken in as part sharers in the enterprise. But the Locating Committee would not hear to it. They wanted for colonists, only persons of the character designated in Mr. Meeker's call, and it appeared to them that the old settlers as a body could hardly be considered eligible. When the old settlers understood this attitude of the leaders of the colony towards them, there was laid the foundation for the future ill-will so generally cherished towards Greeleyites.

One of the persons especially recommended by Mr. Byers as suitable to be trusted in this matter, paid us a very shabby trick. This was David Barnes. He was the owner, at the time we are speaking about, of 126 acres which is now a part of the town site of Greeley. Mr. West met him in Evans and offered to buy it of him. He replied that he had just made a present of it to his son Samuel. He had just been in the recorder's office and filed a deed to that effect. But he offered to go in and get the deed which was only filed but not recorded. The clerk allowed him to take it out, and David Barnes made a deed of the property to Horace Greeley for the consideration of $1,269.80. In June, 1872, Samuel Barnes brought suit for possession of this land —Miller & Markham, of Denver, being his attorneys. We engaged Henry M. Teller. A compromise was offered if the colony should pay Barnes $2,000. The sum was finally reduced to $1,100, which Teller advised us to pay, which we did with Teller's fee of $200.

The first notice colonists received from the Locating Committee, was in *The New York Tribune* of April 18th. This abounded in vague general statements, but did not say how much land had been purchased. "The Star of Empire," the organ of the National Land Company, of which Wm. N. Byers was manager for Colorado, sent a circular to the colonists, dated April 14th, giving various information, but keeping colonists equally in the dark as to the quantity of land purchased. But before this, there was issued from *The New York Tribune* office a circular of the date of April 12th, and signed by Ralph Meeker, secretary. The first sentence of this circular is, "After many difficulties the Locating Committee have succeeded in purchasing 70,000 acres of railroad and government land on the Cache a La Poudre river in Colorado, half-way between Denver and Cheyenne." After a few spread-eagle paragraphs about climate, scenery, fertility of the soil, etc., we come upon this piece of information :

"The committee have not reported at this date, but the above facts are given from letters written by the President ; General R. A. Cameron, H. T. West and others will be on the ground to receive members. The President expects to move out with his family during the summer. About two-thirds of the colonists will go in the spring."

We find also the following, which must have been delightful to the old settlers :

"Much difficulty was experienced in buying up the claims of the squatters ; but this obstacle has been removed, so that members of the colony can have full control of all the land purchased by the committee, as well as the station and county seat."

The last is decidedly rich, as the county seat was then at Evans.

After the site of the town was selected, then arose the question of what its name should be. Mr. West informs me that General Cameron proposed that it be called Meeker, a proposition that Mr. Meeker would not listen to. It was then unanimously agreed to name it Greeley. Mr. Meeker was far too modest a man to vote for naming a town after himself. If it had been left to the people after a goodly number had come on the ground, they could have appropriately named it Meeker; but it is far more probable that they would have been guided by policy rather than by consideration of desert, and so would have named it as it was. Another town has been named Meeker for a less sufficient reason than this one would have been, namely, because it is near the scene of the Meeker massacre at White River Indian Agency.

## CHAPTER IV.

NEW ORGANIZATION—"UNION COLONY OF COLORADO"—ITS CERTIFICATE OF ORGANIZATION KEPT A SECRET FROM COLONISTS—CONTESTS BETWEEN THE OLD ORGANIZATION AND NEW—EARLY DISCONTENTS AND THEIR CAUSES—EARLY POLITICS—CREDIT DUE TO CAMERON—CIRCULAR ISSUED BY H. T. WEST—MISTAKEN NOTION ABOUT COST OF CANALS—ACTUAL COST OF THOSE PROJECTED BY COLONY.

IMMEDIATELY after determining to settle here, it was thought best to organize as a corporation under the laws of Colorado. The organization, as formed in New York, was not a corporation under the laws of that state. Its constitution was of a loose, general nature, and, I suppose, would have been binding upon those entering into it as a compact or contract; but it had not the definiteness of a corporation whose powers are defined by statute. The principal business contemplated was the purchase of land, and this was to go into the hands of a trustee who was to deed to the colonists in severalty. When this was done, there would be no further use for the organization remaining, the town organizing as any other town, and the country managing its affairs as other country districts. But in this view there was no account taken of the building, maintaining and managing of ditches. Indeed, it will be seen that the New York constitution is singularly wanting in this most important particular. Hence, these three men saw the pressing necessity of a new organization radically different from the old, and had the nerve to go on and make it. To do this, Messrs. Meeker and Cameron went to Denver and there consulted and employed Daniel Witter to draft a certificate of organization for a corporation named, "The Union Colony of Colorado," instead of "Union Colony Number One." At the last session of the Territorial legislature a statute had been made relating to corporations, and allowing large powers to colonial organizations. This certificate of organization will be found in Appendix B, and may be compared with the New York constitution. It will be seen that Mr. William N. Byers, editor of *The Rocky Mountain News*, and Daniel Witter of Denver, neither of whom had joined the colony, or ever sat at a meeting of the board of directors, were made trustees. This was done so as to have the number five, and at the time this was drafted, April

15, 1870, none but the members of the locating committee were here. It was intended to have these superseded by colonists as soon as desirable members to fill the place should arrive, but, from causes to be related, this did not take place until late in the summer.

A meeting of the board was held by the three resident members, and organization effected and some by-laws passed before the departure of N. C. Meeker for New York, about April 23rd. He returned to dispose of his property and bring his family with him as soon as possible, leaving behind his son George at Evans, where he died of consumption on the 26th, or three days after the departure of his father.

The business of laying out the town, building ditch Number Three and surveying the lands adjacent to town, now devolved upon R. A. Cameron and H. T. West. They had also to provide for, and receive the new comers. The labors to be performed were numerous and arduous, requiring a variety of ability which few men possess. Cameron and West supplemented each other admirably. The former had a quick, broad mind capable of taking in any situation at a glance, in its leading aspects, but little acquainted with routine, and inexact; while West was orderly in the management of affairs to their minutest details. The two, however, were placed in an anomalous position. They were members of the board of directors of the new company, but being only two out of five, there could be no business done in the absence of Mr. Meeker and the two Denver members. Meeker was absent about six weeks. Besides, they saw fit to conceal the existence of the new organization, and pretended to be doing business as members of the executive committee of the New York organization. There is to me no evidence that H. T. West ever was a member of the New York executive committee; and if R. A. Cameron was, it was by virtue of his office as vice-president. According to the constitution the executive committee was "appointed by the colony in session," and as there never was but one meeting of the colony at New York, Mr. West could not have been a member of such committee until there was an election here, and that was not until far on in the summer, as we shall see. Richmond Fisk was the only member of the New York executive committee that ever came here. It will be seen that, acting for the old organization, the president, or, in his absence, the vice-president, could only carry out the instructions of the executive committee; and for several months this consisted, in fact, of only the one person we have named. Instead of filling the vacant ranks of the executive committee by an election, through a meeting of the colonists here, Cameron and West proceeded, by appointment, to fill vacancies with men who suited them, I suppose on the supposition that they were the Colony spoken of in the constitution. This was one of the causes of dispute between the management and the rank and file of the colonists, and was finally settled soon after the arrival of N. C. Meeker, in June, by an election of an executive committee of nine. This election was held June 13th, and the result was as follows: Meeker, Cameron, West, Plato, Monk, Holmes, Hollister, Pinkerton and Wilcox. Here it will be seen that the three *trustees of Union Colony* are elected as members of this executive committee, which was on the basis of the old constitution, under the forms of which the colonists insisted that affairs should be managed. The executive committee, which Cameron and West had appointed. was made such by a by-law of the new corporation, which reads thus:

"The *trustees* may select an executive council of twelve persons, members of said Union Colony, who shall hold their position during the pleasure of the board of trustees."

The above was a blind to make the people believe that they were being governed according to the original compact, when it was being wholly violated; the board of trustees of the new organization substitutes itself for the colony. It will be further observed that the terms, "Members of said Union Colony," are absurd, since the said Union Colony refers to a corporation, and no one was a member of that body until he became a stockholder, which he did not until more than a year after the organization. The colony, as organized in New York, had members, but that and the said colony referred to in the by-laws, were two entirely separate bodies, as the certificate of organization of the Union Colony of Colorado takes no notice of Union Colony Number One. Hence, it was held by good lawyers that it was only the old organization that could legitimately do business, and that the new organization was a usurpation. For it was no long time until the existence of this latter became an open secret, and by their endeavor to keep it a secret, the management lost the confidence of the people. I see no reason why they should have done this, except they felt that they had superseded their authority and were afraid to face the consequences—a thing that they soon had to do with the added odium of attempted concealment. Mr. West says that he was always opposed to this attempt at concealment, and, hence, if this be so, the opprobrium of it belongs to Cameron, since Meeker was gone until long after the secret was openly divulged by a circular published May 16, by R. A. Cameron, vice-president, and H. T. West, secretary of the colony. In it the full title of the colony is not given, and we are at a loss to know under what organization these gentlemen were acting, but presumably under the old one, as it starts out in this style: "The executive committee of Union Colony submits the following," etc. But at the same time there was no executive committee here nor did they pretend that this document was gotten up by that body at New York. In other words, Cameron and West assumed that they were that body and neither of them was a member of it.

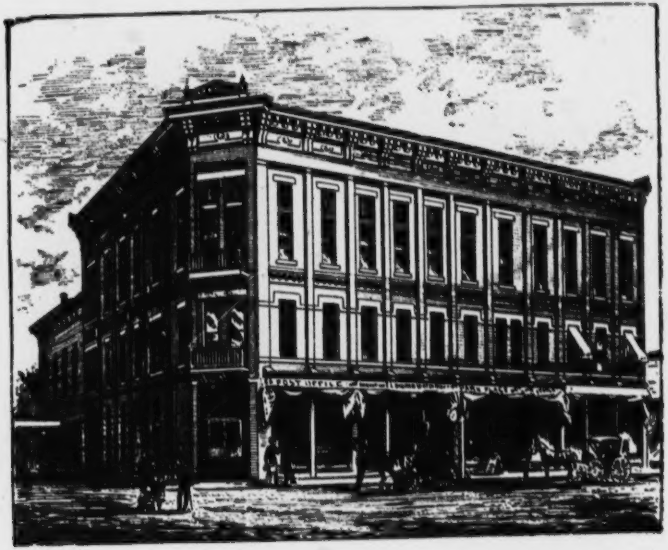
This circular, which was the work of Mr. West and does him credit for the quickness with which he made it, when a statement of the facts it contains, was demanded a few days before at a mass meeting, is published in this work, Appendix C. We shall have frequent occasion to refer to this document which is kindly furnished me by Mr. West, who says that he would not wish to-day to have a single line altered. In it, it will be seen that the people were informed that, "The organization of The Union Colony of Colorado" was a necessity, to enable us to make contracts binding on the colony, without which we could do nothing in regard to irrigation, and many other things necessary to be done in the colony. This organization is simply to do such things as could not otherwise be done; but it is to be distinctly understood that the members of the colony are to control the municipal and all other matters relating to the colony; according to the terms of the original organization.

From the above the new organization was for a long time called the ditch company, and there were two organizations; but instead of having separate functions and affairs to attend to, they were joint and, as we have seen, the first attempt was to have an *executive council*, the creature of the colony trustees; but that this was wholly superseded by an elected executive committee of nine, which included all of the trustees, and the supposition was that this body was wholly running the business; but, as a matter of fact, all contracts were made by the incorporated body through its president and secretary.

At a meeting of citizens, held June 18th, a series of resolutions was passed. Mr. Monk moved, in the executive committee, that the resolutions be spread upon the minutes, which was done. They are as follows:

"The following resolutions have been adopted by the members of the Union Colony as a line of policy for the government of the colony.

"*Resolved*, That it is the duty of the executive committee to see that proper titles, with right to water, be properly conveyed to each individual member, and that all the rights and powers of the ditch company be handed over and conveyed to the executive committee of the colony.



PARK PLACE BLOCK.

"*Resolved*, That in the true spirit of colonization, any member entering on his lands, a part or a whole, to build in good faith, shall be entitled at once to his deeds for his business lot, his residence lot and his outlying lands, upon respectively paying for the same.

"*Resolved*, That in making the deeds for the members, a clause shall be inserted forever prohibiting the manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquors, as a beverage, on the land so deeded.

At the close of the first resolution occur these words: "That all the rights and powers belonging to the trustees of the ditch company, be handed over and conveyed to the executive committee of the colony."

It will be seen that, in the opinion of those adopting this resolution, the executive committee could go on and legally do everything required, without being a corporate body according to the laws of Colorado. This was the opinion of good lawyers; but there was a conflict of opinion as to the management of ditches, and so it was at length deemed best to retain the corporate organization. Daniel Witter and William N. Byers were notified that they had better resign as members of the board of trustees. There could be no legal election held, as no stock had been issued; but the board temporarily filled the vacancies, electing N. Holmes and E. C. Monk. But this not being satisfactory, an informal election was held, and those receiving the highest number of votes being N. C. Meeker, R. A. Cameron, H. T. West, Nelson Holmes and J. H. Pinkerton, these were accepted by the colony board, Pinkerton taking the place of E. C. Monk. So for a while there were two bodies legislating for the colony, the regular trustees, and the executive council, which was gradually increased to twelve. The first regular election was held on the first Tuesday in May, as provided by the by-laws. Preceding this election there was the greatest excitement. Two meetings were held at the Tabernacle, as Hotel de Comfort was now called. We extract the following paragraphs from a correspondent of *The News*, signing himself "Maple Buds:"

"An important colony meeting of the members was held at the Tabernacle Saturday last. It was called for the purpose of getting the sentiment of the people upon the future policy of the colony, and for nominating trustees to be voted for at the coming election. The hall was well filled and the interest evinced was commendable.

"Captain David Boyd was elected chairman, and Mr. N. C. Meeker was the first to address the meeting. He was in favor of continuing the policy in force during the last year, and had no special reason for any material change.

"He was followed by General R. A. Cameron, who at once announced his purpose not to be a candidate for re-election as a member of the colony board. This announcement took the audience by surprise, as no hint of such a purpose had been made public, and we cannot but feel that the master spirit of the colony will withdraw from the field of action when the able vice-president and superintendent permits (if the people allow him so to do) his mantle of authority to fall upon the shoulders of a successor. Feeling thus free to suggest what should be the future policy of the colony, the General gave a brief but comprehensive summary of the purposes that should be kept in view. * *

"The meeting prolonged its session until near midnight, and then adjourned, having accomplished but one practical result—the appointment of a committee of three to call another meeting, at which nominations are to be made for a full set of officers for colonial, school and town organizations.

"At present writing the indications are that nearly, if not quite, a new board of trustees will control the destinies of the colony for the coming year. Men may change but measures of vital necessity cannot wholly be overridden or set aside, and the wise policy of the past must be continued in the future, even with a new pilot at the helm."

We quote farther from the next letter of "Maple Buds."

The second colony meeting to consider the affairs of State, was held here last evening, and after considerable sparring between the factions, it was mutually agreed that each party (the administration party and opposition) should meet on Thursday evening to make its own nominations, and then test its strength on the day of election."

*The Greeley Tribune* gives the following result of the election, the voting being by shares for colony officers:

"For trustees—N. C. Meeker, 1,784; David Boyd, 1,686; J. C. Shattuck, 1,246; E. Hollister, 1,232; N. Holmes, 1,127; E. T. Nichols, 713; A. J. Wilber, 657; W. B. Plato, 550 (five highest being the coming board").

"For treasurer—Charles Emerson, 1,875."

"Executive council (of twelve)—Evan Rea, 1,868; Arthur Hotchkiss, 1,805; Ovid Plumb, 1,721; C. D. Farwell, 1,288; D. B. Ranney, 1,274; J. H. Johnson, 1,267; J. G. Cooper, 1,246; J. A. Woodbury, 1,092; F. L. Childs, 1,071; Jos. Murray, 1,036; M. B. Knowles, 931; James Inman, 910; J. S. Scott, 888; S. K. Thompson, 847; C. A. White, 776; H. Marshall, 587; J. Leavy, 580; J. R. Thacker, 566; M. B. V. Gifford, 559; S. Blodgett, 552; J. Max Clark, 503," (twelve highest committee.)

The five town trustees under the charter, or city organization soon to be established, was as follows : E. S. Nettleton, 147 ; R. A. Cameron, 140 ; N. D. Wright, 138 ; Levi Hanna, 126 ; H. T. West, 98. In the town election the vote was personal, before by stock.

I here give all the names voted for at this our first and most important of legal elections. Many names will be observed here that afterwards attained local celebrity, while some have passed over to the other side. Of the eight voted for as trustees, the writer is the only one now living in the colony ; while of the twenty-one voted for as executive council, nine are still living in town ; and of the town's first board of trustees the venerable octogenarian Levi Hanna, is still among us ; while its first secretary, H. T. West, can yet keep as clean and accurate a book at the Hunter & West bank as he did in the early days for the colony.

The executive council was intended as a lower house to play second fiddle to the august board of colony trustees. It was soon found inconvenient for this large body of twelve to meet as often as it was found necessary, in those days of important pressing colonial questions. Soon they elected four of their number to meet with the trustees. These voted with them ; but it was seen too that a majority of the legal board were present, and that a majority voted for any measure. After the end of the year for which it was elected, this body was seen to be superfluous and was not re-elected. And soon there followed as much indifference about the election of colony trustees as there had been solicitude at the time we are speaking of. Its business soon got into a rut and there was but little left to be done except the routine of improving, maintaining and running the irrigating canals.

The circular of the 16th of May was called out for other reasons than to give an account of the new organization. One was that there was a serious misunderstanding about the quantity of land bought, and the price paid for it. We have seen that a circular had been sent to each of the members, stating that 70,000 acres had been purchased, besides contracts, and this by the secretary who quoted the authority of his father the president. There also appeared, May 13th, the following card in *The New York Tribune.*

"UNION COLONY.

"N. C. Meeker, president ; Horace Greeley, treasurer : The locating committee, in addition to purchasing 70,000 acres, have secured the refusal of a large tract on the Denver Pacific railroad. The scenery is grand, the soil fertile, and pure water abundant. Members will be received until farther notice, and carried at reduced rates. Those writing will give amount of present capital. Women received. Several have already joined.

"RALPH MEEKER, secretary."

On the other hand, in the card published in *The Tribune* five days later, and signed by all the members of the locating committee, there is not a word said about the land purchased or its cost, while there is much said about grand scenery, trout in the mountain streams, the clearness, coldness and purity of the water, the healthfulness of the climate, and the cattle grazing upon a thousand hills in sight. Coming thus informed, was it any wonder that when we came to face the actual facts *all* were *disappointed* and *grumbled*, and that most believed that we had been humbugged into coming here ? It was generally believed that the management had countenanced the false representations of Ralph Meeker, without committing itself explicitly. To this day I know of no evidence to the contrary. Had the locating committee wanted to let the people know before coming here, exactly what had been done, a single sentence, which could very becomingly have taken the place of any of a number of grandiloquent platitudes, would have done the business. I doubt not that this omission of the vital truth of the situation was withheld because they thought it was for the good of the colony, and that when members were on the ground, there would be a goodly number who would stay and try, and that another large number would not have the means to go back.

So it appears this will sufficiently explain the cause of the great discontent and clamor of those early days, without assuming that those who engaged in it, were unreasonable, turbulent men.

Some were unreasonable, and notably Lawyer Searles and his Illinois friends, among whom we must mention George Augustus Hobbs, editor of the Geneseo, Illinois, *Republic*, who upon his return wrote in his paper an exaggerated statement of even the worst side of the situation. Notwithstanding its extravagant misrepresentations, it contains a vein of caustic humor making a part of it at least worthy of insertion here. There is a good deal of repetition and ringing of changes on certain phrases which we will endeavor to omit, while quoting the leading points in the indictment.

"There is one thing we can and will say to our uneasy restless readers, don't go to *Greeley, Colorado Territory*. That is the last place on the face of this terrestrial ball that any human being should contemplate to remove to—Greeley, Colorado Territory, is a delusion, a snare, a cheat, a swindle, and the honest (?) Meeker and his long-faced coadjutor know and glory in it—or would do so, had their plans been a little more successful. Greeley, Colorado Territory, is a graveyard, in which are buried heaps of bright hopes and joyous anticipations. Two or three hundred (floating population) that have not "dudads" enough to get down to Evans, four miles below; a board of trustees consisting of honest Meeker, General Cameron, "Judge Hanna," Mr. West, *id genus omne* (the "philosopher" H. Greeley being only a bob to the kite; several stern-wheel shanties, and a few one-horse tents compose the population of the great Union Colony at Greeley, at the present time. Four hundred of the original colonists have been, looked, got disgusted at, and gone, and the balance will '*ditto*' as soon as their friends send them money enough to do so with. That's Greeley, Colorado Territory:

"Two great works there are in Greeley, Colorado Territory, which, with pride and satisfaction, the new comer is requested to turn his eyes to and let them rest on, by the long headed, shrewd and 'honest' trustees—these are the great ditch and the grave of young Meeker. —the former being a tremendous enterprise; the other used as a standing witness to the honesty and the sincerity of the trustees, for would Mr. Meeker bury his idolized son here, and let him stay buried, if he did not know that Greeley, Colorado Territory, would be a good deal larger town than New York (Mr. Meeker's present home) in less than ten years? Don't seem reasonable does it? Perhaps not.

"It should be remarked for the benefit of the "floating population" that reads *The Republic*, that the 'Great Ditch' has turned out a lamentable failure, mostly for the reason that its diggers have not yet hit on a feasible plan to make water run up hill, on general principles; and also for the additional insignificant reason that there is no water around there anywhere to fill the 'Great Ditch' with; but then one ought to see those "trustees" swell out and puff up when pointing to this immense piece of modern engineering—It was as good as a show (the writer has seen it with his own eyes, and still he did not want to be a 'trustee;'—not of Union Colony.)

"Greeley is located—if there be such a thing as locating a baker's dozen of slab shanties, as many tool chests, a great ditch, and twenty acres of prickly pears—on a barren, sandy plain, part and parcel of the Great American Desert, midway between a poverty stricken ranch and a prairie-dog village on two sides; and a poverty-stricken ranch and a prairie village on t'other. It is bounded chiefly by prickly pears. The plucking of this choice plant from the part of their babies' carporeal frame to which in old times the punitive shoe was wont to be applied, gives the mothers of Greeley constant, if not pleasant, employment. (We would add par parenthesis that on that balmy May morning on which we regretfully bid adieu to Greeley, we left the men swearing, the women crying, and picking prickly pears out of parts indicated—a lively, if not a soothing, scene to snatch one's self away from on a bright morning in beautiful "May.")

Wood may be mentioned as a natural curiosity in Greeley, and so is coal, thought to be handy in a successful prosecution of culinary and other domestic affairs. To be sure there is an abundance of wood in the mountains just back of Greeley. The people call it just back, being only forty miles away. But why the colonists don't get more of it and keep supplied, we are unable to conceive, unless it be that they can't borrow teams of neighbors and have no neighbors to borrow of; and to tote wood on one's back forty miles is no slouch of a job.

"President Meeker, 'General' Cameron, 'Judge' Hanna, and the balance of the 'trustees' might say, when they read this brief description of their colony, that we cut it thick; but they are interested witnesses, and we are not. Judging from what our eyes have seen and our ears have heard, we should give it as our opinion that Greeley, in respect to peacefulness, harmony and sweet contentment, is not a model burg; albeit the 'President,' the 'General' and the 'Judge' would have the world believe exactly the opposite. The fact that all the original colonists who had money enough to do so, have quit Greeley in contempt, and that the balance would gladly shake Greeley dust from their sandals to-morrow, proves of course conclusively to every mind that nobody has been disappointed, no strangers taken in, none disgusted, but that all is love, confidence, peace, contentment and harmony at Greeley.

"Because labor finds no employment; because there is no capital amongst the colonists; because no crops of any description (except prickly pears) can be produced at Greeley for the next three years—if indeed anything but prickly pears and prairie dogs' holes can ever be raised; because there is no wood, nor coal, nor lumber, nor anything else but disappointed men and weeping women and squalling young-'uns, there, or anywhere about there—notwithstanding these things prove nothing against the future magnitude of the embryo capital of Colorado. But until this happy period arrives, the honest President Meeker tells his colonists that they must all go a keeping boarders (!) but suppose that they have all gone doing so, though we can't quite see where the boarders are to come from, we leave Greeley for the present, repeating the advice to the uneasy, restless readers of *The Republic*, that if they can't stay where they are, but must go somewhere else, don't ever dream of such a wild and foolish thing as striking out for the great colony of Greeley, Colorado Territory.'"

In those days the Denver press was ready to come to the rescue i case of an attack on the management of the colony, and in this instance the editor of *The News* "sat down" on Hobbs in a way that it was thought his insolence deserved. The people of Denver, who had voted half a million bonds to the Denver Pacific, were interested in the sale of its lands, and colonial schemes were supposed to hasten this desired object. Hence the many fine flattering things said about us, especially in the *News*, are to be taken with a grain of allowance. The time was coming when the Denver press could say bitter enough things about us. But this was when we had got down to a straightforward business way of doing things, and had set our faces against "booming" up the country to stimulate an unnatural immigration.

Of course, upon the face of it read to-day, we can see the gross exaggeration and misrepresentation of Hobbs. Indeed he so far outstripped the truth that he did the colony management more good than harm. Still, there was much fire smouldering beneath so much smoke. The fact is that about fifty of those who came, returned ; while a few went out into the surrounding country, especially into the mountains above La Porte. Those who stayed did so, for the most part, not because they were without funds to take them back, as has been frequently asserted, but because, when they looked carefully over the situation, they saw a chance of ultimate success. There were a few, no doubt, who would have returned right away after coming here, but they constituted but a small portion of those remaining. This charge has been brought up lately in quarters where better ought to be known. The great bulk of those who came here in those early days were well to do, and could have returned at any time. Those who were able-bodied and willing to work, got employment at good wages, helping to survey, dig ditches, build houses, etc. Some of the young men that appeared to be without means and who worked steadily, are now men of wealth, living on fine, well cultivated farms.

Colonists leaving home with the understanding that 70,000 acres had been purchased, were naturally indignant and blamed the management. If they left their homes with the expectation that there would be 160 acres on an average for each, it was not their fault. It has been said that many expected to get that quantity of land for $150, abutting town. I never saw such a person. But it was naturally expected that this area could be had by going out a few miles. When it was seen that less than 12,000 acres had been purchased, the whole situation was changed ; and if some, so deceived into coming here, shook the dust off their feet and bid good-bye to Greeley forever, it was not they who were guilty of bad faith, but the men whose false representations had brought them here.

This was the condition of affairs when the writer arrived on the 12th of May. On the same train was A. E. Searles, a lawyer from Aurora, Illinois, and some others, mostly business men from the same State. These men were highly offended with the state of affairs, and went to work to organize an opposition to the management. This led to a series of mass meetings, at which affairs were discussed in no amicable spirit. However, Cameron was usually the master of the situation, and behaved with admirable temper. Still the general demand was, that we should have a statement of what had been done, how much land had been bought, what it had cost, how it was to be divided, what was the general policy, and this led to the circular before mentioned.

Besides all this, Mr. Meeker was not here, and wrote us (the members of the colony) not a word of explanation. He was in correspondence with the other two managers, but we had no information of the nature of this correspondence or his attitude in the situation. All was in the hands of two men wholly unknown to more than ninety-nine out of a hundred of the men on the ground. Nor were the personal appearance and demeanor of these two gentlemen such as to win immediate confidence. The General looked a good deal like a seedy, cast-off, played-out, third-rate politician, while West had the air of a sharper. The blandness of the one told as unfavorably against him as the brusqueness of the other. In the absence of other testimony as to the character of these gentlemen, we were forced to judge by appearances, and may be we did not "judge righteous judgment."

It has been quite generally said, and is, I suppose, nearly unniversally believed, that the colony would have broken up before the end of two months but for General Cameron. Mr. West, president of the day at the Fourth of July meeting, 1885, on introducing General Cameron, said :

"While I would not for one moment detract from the reputation of any man, yet I wish to say that it is my opinion that to General R. A. Cameron more than any man, we are indebted for the existence of the Union Colony to-day." The above was quite generally applauded. The writer most profoundly differs from the above view. He was here when the troubles commenced, and arrived on the 12th day of May; and Mr. Meeker was here in the course of about three weeks after. It was during this time that the colony would have broken up, if at all, and was prevented from doing so, by General Cameron, if at all; since after the coming of N. C. Meeker, he was president and at the head of affairs. During these three weeks some fifty dissatisfied persons left. Would the rest who stayed after Mr. Meeker came, have left if he had been here earlier? The very reason, as I know, why many stayed who would have gone sooner, was because Mr. Meeker was expected to come soon; and had it been known that for any cause he was not coming back, it would have been a most fatal blow to the colony. I do not think it would then have broken up, for the colonists that had come here to stay and build up a town and settlement, if in their judgment the circumstances were favorable to success, would have taken hold of affairs and put them in shape, and put the right men at the head, if in their judgment they were not. This, in fact, they did do. Those who did stay, had not come to break up the colony. On the contrary they were bound to see that this was not done. It has always appeared to the writer that the management of the first few months brought on all the trouble upon itself, by allowing the false reports to go out about the quantity of land purchased, and trying to keep the new organization a secret, and dealing doubly, as we have seen it did, in trying to make it appear that affairs were being run one way when it was transparent they were being run another. The fact was, the management undertook to run affairs in one way and were forced to run them in another. It tried to ignore the people at large, and select certain favorites; and it was forced to recede. The people taught the managers that they were its servants. Open, candid, outspoken dealing, trusting fully all the people with the situation, would have prevented all the trouble.

Mr. West, in saying that he was opposed to the attempt to keep the incorporation of Union Colony a secret, condemns those who adopted that policy; and it appears to me that that man was General Cameron. Knowing as I do, Mr. Meeker, I feel certain that such a thing could not have originated with him. He was blunt and outspoken to a fault. It appears to me that any man, with common sense, must see that a thing that is unacceptable in itself is not made any more palatable by an endeavor to keep it concealed, when the thing is discovered; and I do not understand how these men could imagine that it could remain undiscovered. The business required that it be discovered sooner or later. It may be said that it was intended to break it slowly to a few of those who could be trusted. And this is what was done, and with the usual result—all soon knew it. And those who were not trusted felt that they were suspected, underrated, and hence revolted. The new organization was fought against, principally because the locating committee took all the power in its own hands for more than a year, not only making themselves trustees, but, in the certificate, stating that the trustees make all the by-laws; when, according to the statute, they could have allowed the stockholders to make these. They appointed, as we have seen, an executive council of twelve as a blind, when they could have left this for the people to elect, as it insisted on doing and did, in spite of the by-laws of the trustees. All this on the part of the people was not revolutionary or destructive, but simply democratic and salutary.

It may, however, be said that for quite other reasons than what may be called political ones, the colony would have broken up but for General Cameron. This was the general distrust of the capabilities of the soil. The appearances were against the soil ; and, what is worse, the old settlers believed and generally told us that the upper bench land was not good for anything for farming. We have seen that this was B. H. Eaton's opinion, and that he thought that we were likely to break up in two or three years. But Cameron believed in the fertility of the soil only, in common with the other two members of the committee. The question is, whether, if Meeker had been here instead of Cameron, we would have been less likely to believe the representations of the former than the latter. To most of us Mr. Meeker, from his writings, was a paragon of perfection in agricultural knowledge. It is no matter if afterwards we got disenchanted. We found that he could write better about farming than farm. But it took us some time to learn this ; and the fact that Mr. Meeker had made this selection, was for us of far more importance than all the exaggerated extravagant statements made by a man who was not supposed to know anything on the subject. To sober, critical minds these extreme statements of the General seemed to prove the unsoundness of his judgment and the flightiness of his imagination. There might be a few weak persons led away by his fancies, but most men preferred to trust their own judgment and observation. Many went way because they had not faith in the capabilities of the soil, others thought it was worth while to wait, and try and see. The few trials that were made the first summer were convincing, of a fair degree of fertility, but did not come up to the extravagant reports published in *The Rocky Mountain News* and the *Star of Empire.*

In fine it may be said, that while Mr. Meeker was not the best sort of a man to manage men and conciliate them to a bad policy, and that he was incapable of such flights of imagination about the glorious opportunities as was the vice-president, still, it always has been my candid opinion that, since the colony got along with him quite well for some nine years as its president, it could have got along if he had been here during these two months in place of Cameron. I think the General would have made a better missionary to the Indians than Mr. Meeker ; that is, he would not have pressed things to such an extreme as to lose his scalp. But the straightforward, even, blunt course of Meeker, was more acceptable to the men who came here to farm and make the town of Greeley a possibility.

But the most perplexing question which beset us, and one of which neither of our three leaders understood anything, was that of irrigation. On this rock the colony was far more likely to go to pieces, than about who should rule, or how we should be ruled. The error that nearly proved fatal to us, was the ridiculously low estimate of the cost of constructing the necessary ditches to irrigate our lands. In *The Star of Empire* published by the National Land Company, of which W. N. Byers was the manager for Colorado, we were told, that the cost for a farm would range from $50 to $200. We have seen that Mr. Greeley, in his Cooper Institute speech, said, "A little water goes a great deal further than people generally suppose. In California they use much more than is necessary." It will be seen that Mr. Greeley, like the newspaper men of our own State, knew much better how much water was needed than the persons engaged in irrigation for years.

Mr. Meeker, in an article introducing the constitution of Union Colony adopted at New York, says, "The cost of irrigation is perhaps equal to fencing, and is a work that is to be extended from year to year." This is vague enough, as the cost of fencing depends upon where, and how, it is done.

With these opinions of those supposed to be informed, before us, we will be prepared for the following statements in Mr. West's circular of May 16th:

"This land is to be furnished with water for irrigation. The colony digs the ditches, and each member of the colony is liable to an assessment for keeping the same in repair. It is estimated that the ditches for irrigating the lands of the colony, as stated, will cost about $20,000; for which there is money in the treasury."

These lands included about 12,000 acres purchased, 50,000 acres of railroad lands under contract, and the alternate government sections adjacent to these railroad lands. They were to be watered by four ditches provided for in the certificate of incorporation of Union Colony. The first was to come out of the canon above La Porte and to terminate at Crow creek. Hence it would cover nearly all the lands now covered by both the Larimer County and the Larimer and Weld County canals. These canals, when the former is completed, will cost some $225,000. This Number One was never touched by the colony. Number Two, constructed during the fall of 1870 and spring of 1871, cost for its original construction, $27,000. About 2,000 acres of crops were put in under it in 1871, and the greater part of the crops were lost for want of water. Then came one of the sharpest crises in the colony's history. The colony's funds had all ben expended in directions which we shall enumerate hereafter. So that if the canal was to be enlarged at all, it must be done by the farmers under it, at their own expense. We have seen that, in the circular from which we have quoted, it was promised that the colony should dig the ditches and that the individuals would only be assessed for repairs. But a few months taught the managers better. In each water deed it was inserted that the holder was liable to an assessment for *superintendence, repairs and enlargement.* The insufficiency of the town ditch, Number Three, had opened the eyes of the trustees, and hence the change of program. Of course this change gave occasion to more ill-feeling and distrust on the part of the rank and file; but it was a necessity, and it probably saved the colony from going into dissolution before the end of the second year. However, it was generally held that the colony should help the farmers out as far as possible. There had been a misunderstanding of the situation all around, and the farmers across the river should not be the only sufferers. One plan was for the colony to borrow money on the lands which it still owned, another was to sell these. The latter view was strongly supported by Horace Greeley in letters to N. C. Meeker—now put at my disposal by his wife—and hereafter published. He here urges to sell the lands even below cost rather than to borrow. Well, the lands were in part sold, also water-rights under Number Two for railroad and government lands. Then there was a tax of twenty-five cents, afterwards increased by ten cents per acre, assessed against the lands holding water-rights under Number Two. This assessment would have amounted to about $9,000, and the amount contributed by the colony must have been about $11,000. There are no records available to get at the exact figures. But the two following enlargements cost about $20,000 each; and as this enlargement increased the capacity as much as either of the others, it is safe to say that it cost as much. So we see that the total cost of canal Number Two, after its third enlargement in the fall of 1877, was, in round numbers, $87,000. The year following it was turned over by the colony to the farmers under it, who incorporated as "The Cache la Poudre Irrigation Company." This company, in improvements, have expended about $25,000, making the cost up to date, $112,000. The greater part of these latter expenditures have not increased the capacity of the ditch, being largely for checks, which have had to be put in at nearly every point where water is taken out. The slope of the canal was too great for one of its size, and hence it keeps cutting its bed and needs these checks to enable parties to get water out upon adjacent lands. The original cost of Number Three was $6,333. There were three enlargements, in 1871, 1872 and 1873. These with dams must have made the canal cost not less than $25,000.

Union Colony's canal, Number Four, which was to come out of the Big Thompson and water the lands on the bluffs south of town, was never built; but the "Loveland and Greeley" canal covers the land contemplated by its projectors, and cost about $50,000. So we see that the aggregate cost of the ditches, incorporated by Union Colony, has been $412,000, while the estimate in the circular before us, was $20,000 less than one-twentieth part of what the actual expenditures turned out to be.

Here, however, it had better be said that much as Number Two has cost the farmers who did all the enlarging after the first one, yet it only costs them $350 per eighty-acre water right, there being equivalent to 320 such rights under the ditch. Eighty-acre rights in the Larimer and Weld immediately above, cost $1,200 apiece, and do not represent as much water as a similar right in Number Two. So much we gained by co-operation. So much at length was the fruit borne by patience and mutual endeavors.

We would not here intimate that the authors of the circular were dishonest in giving the above low estimate of the probable cost of the contemplated canals. They were, as we have seen, based upon the erroneous information afloat in the press of the territory. If there had been time, and the books had been available, reliable information could have been had from countries where irrigation had been practiced for centuries. This was especially true of Northern Italy; and Major Baird Smith's work on irrigation in that country, put the question at rest of how big a canal was needed for a given area, as soon as that book fell into the hands of our people. This matter we shall discuss farther on in the history of the colony. But here I want to say that the writer had an experience which led him to entertain views in regard to the quantity of water needed and the size of ditches required to irrigate a given area, quite the opposite of those generally disseminated throughout the territory.

It was his ill luck, so far as peace of mind is concerned, but his good luck so far as valuable experience goes, to be put in charge of Number Three when water was let into it about June 10th, 1870. It was his duty not only to ride the ditch and plug the gopher holes, but also to see that the water got around to the two hundred more or less patches of land in and around town, which, as dry as ash heaps, had been planted, and were awaiting the water to germinate the seeds. He soon found that a "plow furrow would not do the business," "*The Star of Empire*," to the contrary notwithstanding. E. S. Nettleton had taken the levels at different street corners, but not at elevations or depressions between. Armed with this chart, he proceeded to fill the depressions, understanding that there could be no cutting as the water must reach the highest points. He had to learn for the first time how much earth it took to carry a small stream over a depression of two feet. The north part of town presented the greatest difficulty. The time consumed with the small force of teams to be had, was much longer than anticipated, and the greatest impatience prevailed. He learned afterwards that he was supposed to be an older settler, being confounded with Robert Boyd, who was farming on the banks of the Poudre, three miles west of town, when the colony settled here. The fact that he was put in charge of the ditch, suggested to those not better informed, that he was employed for this work on account of an assumed experience, which, evidently, had been of very little use to him. He was consequently despised in a manner becoming the ignorance and pretention which were supposed to naturally characterize a "Fifty-niner." It was while engaged in this work of coaxing the water over the streets in the northwest corner, that he first met J. Max. Clark. He was busy working all alone at putting in a grout foundation for the house he still lives in. He had to pump the water to mix his material, and wanted the ditch to get around as quickly as possible. He was under the common impression that the writer was Boyd the ranchman, and having been a fifty-niner himself, he knew just how mean they were and treated the ditch man with becoming contempt. Revolvers were not drawn, however; on the contrary, he was given the soft answer that turns away wrath—a kind of virtue the writer had learned to practice during these frequent encounters. But on the whole it may be said, considering the provocations, the people exercised large patience.

There were some two hundred acres in crop in and west of town and there were some forty miles of laterals in town to be wet up. The ditch was new, and when the water was let in, it took it more than a week to get to the end. As a result, the ditch, which had been built to irrigate 5,000 acres, failed to afford sufficient water for 200 acres. This experience led him, no doubt, to form opinions too high as to the quantity of water needed, but it nourished in him a very wholesome contempt for parties undertaking to sell lands merely *covered* by a ditch, regardless of its capacity, and by it he was induced to make a survey of the whole water supply of Northern Colorado.

August 15th, he was relieved from the management or, perhaps better, the mismanagement of Number Three, and B. S. La Grange, who had lately appeared on the scene, put in the place. This gentleman, both by his experience in works of this kind and by his natural talents, was well fitted for the place, and although he was only retained in this service twenty days, he was employed in the fall to construct, according to his own plans, "Oak street lateral," a work which he did most thoroughly, and which led to his being employed again and again on works of this kind to the great advantage of all concerned.

Number Three had been built by McDonald, as engineer, who had had experience in constructing ditches in the mountains for mining purposes. His theory was to keep the ditch in the ground, neither cutting nor filling. As it ran along the notched edge of the bluff, he had it make angles as sharp as the teeth of a saw, allowing no curving or rounding off of the sharp points. A great part of the improving of the ditch consisted in cutting off, or through, these short bends. When Number Two was laid out, under E. S. Nettleton, the same theory was in part followed, and much work had to be done over again in partly straightening the line. By the time that the "Larimer and Weld" was undertaken, the true way to build a canal had been learned, and the English Company having sufficient funds, and the requisite size of ditches to cover given areas being now clearly understood, that work was executed in a manner that established the reputation of E. S. Nettleton as an irrigation engineer.

Perhaps it was just as well that the way before us was partly veiled in darkness, as regards the necessary cost of constructing the canals needed. Had we foreseen it all, we might well have hesitated before starting out on a road so full of difficulties. But once having embarked, we had to face storm after storm to make our way into a safe haven. The patience, courage and perseverance of the farmers under Number Two saved the dissolution of the colony, and the fruits of their labors were the making of Greeley. This N. C. Meeker heartily acknowledged. In an article published in *The Tribune* August 23, 1876, and repeated for many issues, when speaking of the work done under canal Number Two, he says, "For all this I take no credit. It was the farmers themselves who took hold of the work and carried it on in a most admirable manner. I only claim as founder of the colony, to have provided for a system of co-operation, within limited bounds, by which these things became possible."

## CHAPTER V.

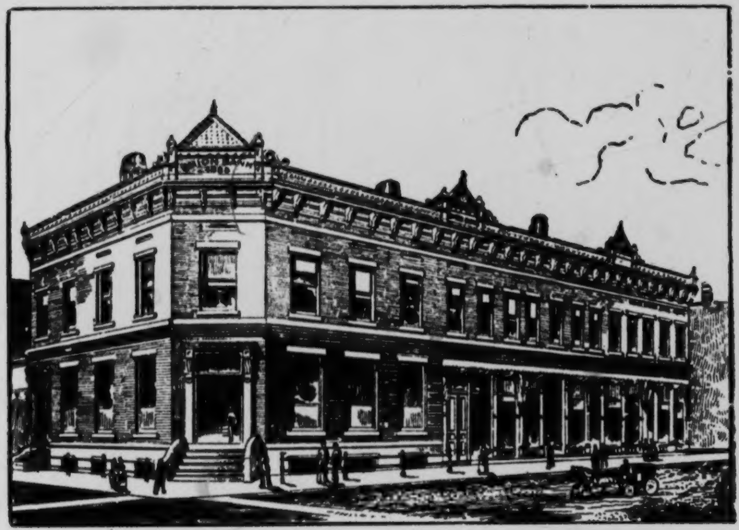
WOOD, LUMBER, COAL—MILL POWER CANAL—FLOURING MILLS OF GREELEY—DAIRY AND STOCK ASSOCIATION—TROUBLE FROM LOOSE STOCK—COMMON FENCE ADVISED BY H. GREELEY—HISTORY OF FENCE IN LEGISLATURE—ILL FEELING OF STOCK MEN TOWARDS COLONY—POUND BROKEN, GUARDING POUND—FENCE HISTORY CONCLUDED—SKETCH OF CATTLE BUSINESS.

OF the other desirable things named by the projectors of the colony, in their descriptions of its ideal site, may be mentioned timber in the near vicinity.

It was supposed that timber could be floated down the river for lumber and fuel at a trifling cost. The summer before we came here hundreds of thousands of ties had been floated down the Poudre for the Denver Pacific railway, and it was held by the "General" that this would be a profitable business for our men that wanted a job to engage in. So Captain Coon, Gilchrist, Henry C. Watson and others went up into the mountains, and cut logs for some 100,000 feet of lumber. But the season was one scant of water. The drive could be brought no farther than Openchain's mill, just below the canon of the Poudre. The rest deserted Mr. Watson and he sunk his last cent, some $1500, in the enterprise. He went back to Omaha and worked at his trade to get a new start, and was back soon and stayed.

In the winter of '71 and '72 a wood company was formed, and the unemployed men in Greeley were set to work in the mountains cutting fire wood, ties, etc. It was a good year to float, but there was no profit in the business, and no more attempts have been made in that direction.

Sawmills were erected in two different localities, the one by W. F. Thompson and the other by a Mr. Hill, from the Michigan lumber region. They each made two successful drives in favorable years, but the business was wholly abandoned in 1874, as the numerous dams of the irrigating ditches made it all but impossible to drive, and it was also found that the head of water in the stream at high water was very irregular for the different seasons. Since then we are wholly dependent alike for wood, posts, poles and lumber on the railroad, except occasional wagon loads brought down by the mountaineers.



UNION BANK BLOCK.

It was supposed, and the report circulated at the time we came here, that the whole country around was underlaid with coal. A company was formed in the fall of 1870 to prospect for coal, but made no discoveries of any near that was good for anything. Professor Hayden soon told us that the Poudre valley was eroded below the lignite coal deposit, which is in the tertiary, while we are on the cretaceous. No depth of digging would find coal under us as we have found to be true in drilling our artesian wells, one of which was put down 2,700 feet and no coal met.

From all this it happens that we are unfavorably situated for manufactories, so far as making cheap steam by wood or coal is concerned. But there was supposed to be all the power we needed to turn machinery from the water of the Poudre. This was one of the features of our location that was dwelt upon, in the first reports of our location, with peculiar satisfaction, and one of the enterprises which was early projected was a mill race. Unfortunately the leaders could not be diverted from this undertaking, and about $10,000 were very unwisely put into this work which should have gone into the irrigating ditches.

It is to the credit of Horace Greeley that he was opposed to the construction of this work. In his letters to N. C. Meeker he again and again advises against building this canal; says that we will need all the water soon for irrigation, and that steam is the only power that can be relied upon to do constant good work. The farmers were also opposed to putting money into this work, which they plainly saw ought to go into irrigating ditches. They said it is foolish to make an expenditure for grinding wheat into flour before there is any wheat to grind. When there is plenty of this, a mill will come without any subsidy. But the theory of the colony was that we must have a water power and run machinery, and so the canal was built, during the summer of 1871, at a cost of $10,000. There is little doubt that if the trustees of the colony had foreseen the many evils this canal brought upon us, they would never have undertaken it. It was built as a town improvement from moneys received from the sale of town lots, and proved to be a town nuisance. It swamped the lots which had been laid out below it, and the colony had to give the parties others in their stead; and where houses had been built, the colony had to be at the expense for removing them to other lots and pay all damages. It required the greatest patience and sagacity to keep the colony from getting into interminable lawsuits. Not only were the lands below turned into a swamp, but the water rose in all the cellars in the business part of town, and a petition was signed by the merchants to have it suppressed as a nuisance. One-fourth of it was donated to S. S.

Kennedy & Co., as a bonus for putting up a flouring mill. This firm was allowed to use the whole power free of rent. Through their carelessness a breach was made, and the company demanded that the colony bear three-fourths the expense of putting it in repair. In lieu of this it was finally agreed that the company put it in repair and get another one-fourth for the sum of $200, the company thereafter to stand all damages. In addition, the town or colony had to build and maintain a number of bridges. The remaining one-half was purchased by the mill company for $2000. So the colony sank, in this enterprise, $7,800, besides the damages we have referred to, which must have amounted to several thousand dollars. But during all these years it was becoming worth less and less—the water being needed the greater part of the summer and fall for irrigation. Steam had soon to be put in, and the mill, about two years ago after becoming the property of the Colorado Milling Company, was burned down. It had stood idle while the company owned it. The canal still remains one of the worst eyesores in Greeley. Water is seldom run in it, while the water stands in it here and there in stagnant pools. So has passed away the early dream of Greeley manufactories run by water power. Yet the "Snow-Flake" flour manufactured at this mill and marketed in the days of cheap wheat in cities far off as the Atlantic coast, gave Greeley a very substantial celebrity. I suppose this same "Snow-Flake" could hardly be marketed at all in these days of flouring by roller process. So the old order passes, and progress fulfills itself in many ways. Greeley has had another mill for a number of years, but this plant is becoming antiquated, and most of our wheat is ground at Eaton or sent to Denver. The big milling trust pays no regard to local pride, or the employment of our home industry; and, so far as co-operation in milling is concerned, we are the most backward of the great wheat raising farming communities. Fort Collins, Loveland, Berthoud and Longmont, each having independent farmers' mills of the latest improved styles. Yet the genius of co-operation has not completely deserted the community founded by N. C. Meeker and Horace Greeley, as the successfully managed potato pools, on two exigent occasions, fully testify.

We might as well here record the failure of another early attempt at co-operation. This was the Greeley Dairy and Stock Association.

It will be remembered that this was one of the things Mr. Meeker had mentioned in his Cooper Institute speech. We find the following notice of the enterprise in a letter of N. C. Meeker to *The New York Tribune* of the date November 1st.

"After holding many meetings, we have finally organized, 'The

Greeley Co-operative Stock and Dairy Association,' with a capital stock of $10,000. We are to engage in all kinds of business relating to stock, including the supplying of the town with milk and beef. As a start seventy-five head of cows and young cattle have been purchased for $1,100, and they make a respectable show when stretched out across the prairie. This herd is to be increased as we find good bargains; and we mean to cover the unoccupied prairie in every direction with our cattle. In connection. the association will herd horses, cows, and other stock for the people of the town at a given sum per week, and by the same organization the town can be protected from every kind of stock. This society is entirely distinct from the colony, and it is our first co-operative body. The next will be a bakery and laundry, leading the way, if it shall be found practicable, to the co-operative household. But one thing at a time and slowly. In the cattle business one man can take care of large herds; experience and capability can be secured, while we shall have capital sufficient to obtain the breeds best suited to the country. We have labored under the difficulty of not being acquainted with each other, and for a time those of least merit and with glibbest tongues secured great attention. But we are getting over this; the quiet and worthy are becoming known and gradually rising in esteem, which is the same as elsewhere, every man finally weighing himself to the last grain and pennyweight."

A. J. Wilber, in a communication to an eastern paper of the date of August 22d, had written:

"But the latest opportunity, and it bids fair to be the best, is the new Stock Association. It embraces all departments of dairying, herding and breeding any kind of domestic animals on which profit can be made. It will also butcher, if that is advisable. With the well known profit of grazers, it can hardly fail to make fine dividends. Its name is the Greeley Co-operative Stock Association, and it proposes to have a stock of $10,000, divided into shares of $10 each. There is no opposition to large investments in it, and there have already been some pretty heavy ones made. It is now in operation with a will, and has nearly relieved us from the incursions of stock."

These were the high expectations of those engaging in this enterprise. But it proved to be an illusion. Abner S. Baker was the chief manager, but J. C. Shattuck was its president, and gave much of his time to it.

One reason for the failure was that not enough capital was subscribed to make the stock kept on the range pay. Men only were willing to risk small sums. Dr. Emerson was the largest stockholder, but he did not wish to risk much. So far as I remember not more than $3,000 were subscribed. Then we encountered the bad winter of 1871 and '72, in which some parties lost nearly all their stock. The association did not lose much; but it cost much to gather the stock and to feed them, as hay reached the enormous price of $40 per ton. This high price of hay, and the general high price of grain, also made the dairying unprofitable. So in the course of some two years the stock was sold out, and we got out of it about fifty cents on the dollar.

This put a damper on further co-operative movements. No bakery or laundry was attempted on this basis, much less co-operative housekeeping.

It will be seen from the above quotations that one of the things that were troubling us was the ravages of stock. It had been a policy of the colony not to fence. This had long been a theory of Horace Greeley, elaborated in his book, "What I Know of Farming." His advice to the colonists had been "No fences and no rum." So far as our own cattle were concerned we were going to herd them, and we also proposed that if others kept cattle around our borders they would be compelled to do the same. The stock association had in view the occupying of the whole range in the immediate vicinity, and keeping the other range stock off at a respectable distance.

There was not much trouble during the early summer months while the feed was good, but as soon as it began to fail and the herds began to roam, they saw our green cultivated spots and moved in to partake. Two herders were employed, the one for the night and the other for the day, and one had to keep constantly in the saddle. In spite of their best efforts, much of what we raised was destroyed. This was the state of affairs about the time Mr. Meeker was starting his paper, and the first use the new type was put to, was printing the following proclamation of war upon the cattlemen.

GREELEY TRIBUNE—Extra.

(*First use of our type.*)

"A colony meeting will be held Tuesday evening, October 11th, to adopt measures for preventing the ravages of cattle. It is now ascertained that all the laws previously in force, compelling cultivators to build fences, have been repealed, and that whatever damage cattle running at large may do, can be collected of their owners. Having, as citizens of the town of Greeley, submitted quietly through all the past season to what was supposed to be the law, we should now claim our right under the law as it really exists. But since owners of cattle, and in particular members of the colony, upon having been properly notified of their liability for damages, pay no attention to the matter; and their cattle still roam through our streets and over our fields eating up the last vestige of our labors as a preliminary to an attack upon our shade trees and their total destruction, it is time that we meet and defend ourselves with the powers of the law. The protection of our strawberry grounds, containing as much as a quarter million of plants alone, demand our organization. This is not so much a question in regard to fences as in regard to order and decency, for our town and colony will be disgraced by cattle running at large through our streets; shade trees will be impossible, for even fences themselves will be comparatively useless since there are enough breachy cattle to demolish common fences, the same as in Denver, and in all the ranches of the territory where the vast herds will repeat this year their course of desolation. The law is right in compelling men to take care of their stock, and it is not possible to make stock profitable unless it is taken care of. N. C. MEEKER."

This was the state of affairs when Horace Greeley visited us, which was on the 12th, the day after the meeting above announced. He saw that our situation was peculiar, and advised Mr. Meeker privately, as the latter afterwards informed the writer, to build a fence enclosing all the colony lands. This accordingly was undertaken next spring, under superintendence of Nelson Holmes, and was prosecuted with much vigor, and the work done in a most thorough manner. It was deemed best to put the fence on the top of the lower bank of the ditches, so that the vast, hungry herds, impelled by blizzards, would be checked in charging the fence by the ditch and its bank. But such a fence was very costly. The posts were large and cost twenty-five cents apiece, and there was one every sixteen feet, and there were two heavy poles and two smooth wires, no barbed wire being then manufactured. This wire cost eight cents per pound, by the carload. Such a fence cost $400 per mile. Before we got through we had to build some fifty miles, hence, costing in the aggregate $20,000. It was into this fence that most of the money realized from the sale of town lots went, instead of into the improvements contemplated by the founders of the colony. But its construction was no complete protection. We had no right to put gates across the public roads leading into the town and colony. Our first effort in the legislature was to get this permission, and in the winter of 1872-3, we got permission to keep gates shut for the seven summer months. Then the next attempt was to get a law allowing communities to form fence districts, with certain privileges. This measure was carried at the next session of the legislature, and the Poudre Valley fence district was organized under stringent restrictions, imposed by the legislature. Among them was the one that the County Commissioners should pass along the fence and determine whether it was a legal one. This was not finally accomplished until July 17, 1876. Two of the three commissioners were stockmen, and they made our task as difficult as possible, much of the fence having to be reconstructed to suit their whims.

The construction of this fence, undertaken as a peace offering to the stockmen, was not accepted in this spirit.* In fact most of them did not want us here. They could easily see that the taking up of lands along the streams, and the fencing of them up, was going to be the death blow to the stock business in this region. They generally maintained the view that the country was good for nothing save for grazing, and that we were fools for undertaking to farm it. Hence our fence was ridiculed, and we were accused of being proud and wanting to keep ourselves to ourselves, as a peculiar and very holy people. We were Greeley "Saints" who had fenced ourselves in from the "heathen around about," and the tone of some of Mr. Meeker's letters to *The New York Tribune* partly supported this view of the case. Take this for instance:

"Our peculiar case is, we have come in contact with that form of society which existed long ago, namely, the shepherd life; for Colorado is little more than a vast stock ranch; and we, having entered upon the work of carrying out latest improvements in horticulture, farming, fruit-growing, and the like, here come in contact with a system that cannot harmonize with us. There is no use, however, of making complaints; we are on the ground and must do the best that we can with the powers bequeathed to us out of the immense difficulties of the ages past and gone. The amount of suffering that laboring people must have endured in the early ages from scarcity of food, from cold, from ague, from insects, and from rabbits, must have been appalling, and there can be no doubt but that the effects of what they endured have been handed down to us in diseases, in the expression of our faces and in the cast of our eyes, giving a species of immortality that is to be carried forward to the end of time."

Mr. Meeker also differed with the stockmen as to how stock should be kept for profit here. On this point we quote from these same letters:

"Please take note here, that I utterly repudiate the idea that cattle can be grown in this country without shelter and without prepared winter food, at a profit. It is true that in the stock business, as now carried on, there is no provision for either; and it is also true that cattle live through the winter and look well, though the great number of carcasses, which we saw last February, is suspicious. I suspect that the alleged profits of stock-growing here belong more to the future, than to the past or present, for there are no indications of wealth, such as are presented in places where the leading pursuit is profitable. Even if it were as profitable as it is claimed, the wild life connected with it, ill fits men to save what they earn, and it is of the least consequence how much a man makes if he saves nothing. But grant everything that can be said in regard to keeping cattle over winter on the range, it has application only to an unsettled country, and where an hundred head have the range of half a million acres; for the business so conducted comes to an end when the *valleys shall be thickly settled as they are destined soon to be.* The idea I want to convey is, that although Colorado is unequalled as a stock country, the business must soon be conducted in almost the same way as it is elsewhere, if it is to be profitable."

---

* J. L. Brush was an exception and worked for our fence bill, whether he was a member of the legislature or not.

In predicting this final pushing of the stock business to the wall, by the settlement of the country by farming communities along the streams, Mr. Meeker proved himself a true prophet.

It is well known that Mr. Greeley held the same views about the barbarous way in which the stock business was managed here, and had predicted that some hard winter would cut them off nearly wholly. So when the severe winter of 1871-2 came, and Meeker wrote him a private letter about the great losses, Mr. Greeley thought it too good to keep, and published it in *The Tribune*, to the great consternation of the cattlemen, for it impaired their credit in the east, and they never forgave Mr. Meeker for this.*

* See Mr. Greeley's letters on this published elsewhere.

The result of all this was a very hostile state of affairs between the people of Greeley and the stockmen, and some of these were of our own household.

After the town was organized in the spring of '71, it was lawful for Greeley to have a pound and impound in it stock running on the streets. This was accordingly done. Now most of the stock that was harassing us belonged to small herds kept by men in, or close to Greeley; so these men formed a league and broke the pound regularly. These difficulties came in the winter time when the feed was gone and severe storms were raging. It was the general belief of those not keeping stock, that these small stockmen in our midst had made up their minds to winter their stock at the general expense, and in defiance of the general sentiment, and to the great detriment of every kind of property in town. There is quite a general feeling among loose, lawless characters, that law-abiding, peaceable, moral men are cowards; and the old settlers and a few of our own men, who were now affiliating with them, had this opinion of Mr. Meeker and his clan. But all history teaches that when such peace-loving men are thoroughly aroused by injustice and insolence, they become the most determined fighters. So it was found in this case. Many of us had seen service in the late war. Nearly all had brought with them repeating rifles and revolvers. So a number of us banded ourselves together, and, taking turns, kept guard in a vacant house near the pound. It was understood that the rest were to rally to the scene of action upon the first report of the rifles. But no attempt for a long time was made to break the pound. It was now coming on spring, and as most of us were farmers who were doing the guarding, it was deemed best to move the cattle to Mr. Adams' barnyard, then vacant, where they could more easily be guarded, as there was a large barn connected with a small, well-inclosed corral. Here it was believed one man, with a Winchester repeating rifle, would be sufficient. Ed. Williams, an ex-confederate soldier, undertook to guard it against all comers. This the cattle league was well aware of. So one Sunday, when everybody was at church, three men dashed into town on horseback, armed and masked, broke open the corral gate, and drove the cattle over the hills towards Evans. While this was being done, our guard was asleep, or pretended to be, as most suspected. The writer happened to be in Denver and got home just in time to hear the news that the cattle had been rescued about half an hour before his arrival. Who did the rescuing was kept a secret for a long time, but it is now known who they were and that one of them was a colonist. But this put an end to breaking the Greeley pound. Farther legislation enabled us to form the fence district above spoken of, and we were now enabled to keep the gates closed during the winter as well as the summer.

Here we may as well close the history of the Greeley fence. More than twelve thousand dollars were expended in its construction during the spring of 1871, and the east end was still unenclosed. This was accomplished under great difficulties on account of the exhaustion of colony funds during the next year. It was sold March, 1874, to the fence district for $9,000, to be paid in four yearly installments without interest. Many changes had to be made in order to get it legalized. A bill was gotten through the legislature enabling fence districts to issue bonds. Ten thousand dollars of such bonds were issued, and a yearly tax, usually about ten cents an acre, levied, to pay the interest and keep the fence in repair. But now we have come to the end. The district put on a tax last year sufficient to pay off $4,000 of the bonds. The fence is now being sold in sections at, on an average, twelve and a half cents per rod. When this sale is completed a sufficient tax will be imposed to pay off the rest of the bonds, $4,000, and so the celebrated Greeley fence is practically no more. *Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in ea.*

Most of the farmers have already individual fences. Barbed wire has wrought a revolution in fencing on the plains. A more efficient fence can now be built for $100 per mile than the colony one was, which cost $400 per mile. But the colony fence did good service in its day, and was one of the means of saving it from the ruin, which so speedily came upon sister colonies soon after organized upon our plan.

There were but few imitations of this co-operative fencing. One was at Orchard and another at Sterling, both down the Platte, and organized by Greeley men. And both were successful. The English Company, upon the completion of the Larimer and Weld canal, also enclosed the land under it with a common fence, which, however, was not incorporated, and hence, had no legal standing. But this fence, too, did good service for the farmers under it. It is now virtually a bandoned and most of the lands are fenced in sections. The winter feed now pays much more than interest on fencing, and since the advent of alfalfa, farmers are beginning to keep small bunches of cattle which are herded on the plains in summer and kept on the farm in winter. Just now the business does not pay well, as the price of beef is too low. Dairying is also practiced much more than it was in the early days, when a farmer usually kept only one cow, which was picketed in the summer and fed corn fodder in the winter.

The cream from these dairies is usually sold to the Greeley creamery. But the production of this cream is not found profitable when all the work has to be paid for in the high wages obtaining in Colorado. If a farmer has a robust family of growing-up boys and girls, and is more anxious to make money than to have them educated, then such a dairy may be carried on profitably, otherwise not; and soon these small herds will be turned into beef producers—the black polled cattle being kept to grade up with.

Meantime the general cattle business on the plains is undergoing a revolution. Fortunes were rapidly made after the hard winter of 1871-2, as no severely disastrous winters have followed since then, and while the price of beef was steadily advancing. Since, the tide has been ebbing, as many fortunes have been lost in the business, and the number of cattle that can be kept safely on the slopes facing the

South Platte is steadily decreasing on account of the continuous line of settlements on both its banks.

The latest movement is the formation of a great Cattle Trust, including Texas, Indian Territory, New Mexico, Colorado and Wyoming. Its capital stock is $3,000,000. It has some ten well-located camps, or headquarters, extending from the north to the south of states and territories named. Texas and New Mexico are to be the breeding grounds, Colorado and Wyoming the fattening grounds. J. L. Brush and Bruce F. Johnson, two of our leading citizens, are among the promoters and managers of this gigantic enterprise, and it seems destined to swallow up the general cattle business of the plains.

This is co-operation on a gigantic scale, and with able and wealthy men at its head; and the rest of the cattle business is likely to be carried on by co-operation of farmers, each keeping a small bunch at home in the winter, and having them herded in common near the respective settlements in summer. These small bunches, more or less closely herded and monopolizing the water near the settlements, will keep the large herds of the Cattle Trust far away from the settlements, and so long as the natural causes remain, which make Colorado a dry climate, so long there will remain vast tracts open for large herds, and the "Cattle Trust" will find a field for its operations. The old feeling of hostility, that originated so naturally when the colony settled here, between the farmers and cattlemen, has long ago died out; and J. L. Brush has done more than any other man to bring about this desirable consummation. May he experience the blessedness promised the peacemaker.

# CHAPTER VI.

ORIGINAL COLONISTS, LIST OF IN APPENDIX—CERTIFICATES RETURNED FOR REDEMPTION—DIVISION OF TOWN PLAT INTO LOTS AND OF OUTSIDE LANDS NEAR TOWN—LANDS DEEDED TO HORACE GREELEY IN TRUST—CONVEYED AT LENGTH TO THE CORPORATION, AND BY IT TO INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS—SALARIES OF OFFICERS, TRUSTEES SERVE WITHOUT COMPENSATION SEVEN YEARS—REPORT OF AUDITING COMMITTEE—CARE OF TREES—FRUIT-GROWING A FAILURE AT GREELEY—N. C. MEEKER ON THE DIFFICULTIES OF TREE CULTURE—FORCED GROWTH OF GREELEY DURING FIRST YEAR—DIFFICULTY OF SETTLING OVER THE RIVER BEFORE WATER WAS IN NUMBER TWO—CELEBRATION OF FIRST FOURTH—HORACE GREELEY VISITS THE TOWN NAMED AFTER HIM—GREELEY TRIBUNE PROSPECTUS—COLONY TO BE A MODEL FOR OTHER COLONIES—HORACE GREELEY ADVISES N. C. MEEKER TO SELL OUT THE TRIBUNE TO THE "COLORADO SUN" PEOPLE—HORACE GREELEY'S LOAN TO N. C. MEEKER AND THE OUTCOME OF IT.

IN Appendix D (*a*) will be found a list of the names with postoffice address of those who joined the colony in New York up to about April 1st, 1870. More names must have been taken during the month of April. This list contains only the names of those who paid the full membership fee of $155. Many paid only the initiation fee of $5, and dropped out.

Old settlers will see that of the 442 on this list, less than 200 ever made their appearance here. Some sent on their certificates and had friends "locate" them. Others who had heard evil reports, and believed them, held their certificates until the end of the first year after the location was made—April 5th, 1871—and then sent them on for redemption. It was a part of the original contract that, if lands were not selected according to the rules and regulations adopted by the executive committee, then the colony should pay back the $150 with interest at seven per cent. So far as I can make out from the books, about ninety were held back for redemption. Only those issued at New York were so redeemable. Those bought here must be exchanged for lands of the colony.

The redemption of these certificates became a matter of great embarrassment to the colony. Much of the money coming in from the sale of town lots, during the spring of 1871, was used in this way instead of going towards town improvements. But many were not presented now, and when they were, could not then be paid. This brought the colony into ill-repute, being charged with repudiating its debts. However, it was always the intention to pay these obligations, although they could not have been collected on account of statutory limitation. When, at length, the colony fence was sold to the "Poudre Valley Fence Company," in the month of March, 1874, provision was made for paying them off with interest up to date of settlement at seven per cent. per annum.

The colony at last was able to meet every obligation it incurred, either in law or equity, and so the fair fame of its founders has been maintained inviolate.

There were issued in all, as near as I can make out from the book, 687 one hundred and fifty-five dollar certificates, the proceeds from which would be $106,485. In addition to this, many paid an extra $75 for water rights to eighty acres of government land, which they were allowed to take on their certificates by paying this sum—the certificate itself being paid for by the selection of one of the minor subdivisions of colony land.*

The names of those who took certificates out, and not found on the above list, together with those who bought old certificates and got the original deeds from the colony, will be found in Appendix D (*b*)

This list foots up within two of three hundred. This would make in all 740 members; but a number of these bought certificates whose original purchasers appear on first list.

The town was laid out, as near as possible, a mile square. The lots were from 25 to 200 feet front, with a depth of 190 feet, except the two tiers of blocks on each side of Main street, which were 115 feet deep. The colony lands on this side of the river, outside of town, were divided into five, ten, and twenty acre lots, and those on the other side, except near the river, into twenty and forty acre lots. On one certificate could be entered one business and one residence lot, to be paid for at $50 for corners and $25 for inside lots. A small subdivision of the colony lands satisfied the certificate if one did not choose to take other outside land, but an additional railroad eighty could be bought and the water go with it, or a water-deed for a government eighty could be had for an additional $75. This was cheap water, if it had been sufficient to irrigate the whole. But it was not, even after the first enlargement, sufficient to irrigate more than twenty acres of an eighty acre lot. It really meant that it gave each one a proportionate share in the ditch, with the privilege of going on and making it large enough as they became able. The first enlargement of Number Three was provided for by putting a tax of $2.50 on each town lot and $5 on each subdivision of outside land under it, and this sum was added to the cost as first agreed upon, and must be paid before the deed could be granted. This, too, made ill feeling on the part of some, but whether considered just or not, its necessity was seen, and what came on all alike and benefited all taxed, could not be far from right.

---

* The total amount received from all sources by the Colony was about $175,000.

The land had all been deeded to Horace Greeley in trust, who was to deed it to the individual members as directed by the executive committee. But this was found to be an inconvenient way of doing business, and it was deemed better to have Mr. Greeley deed it to Union Colony as a corporate body. There was a grave doubt on the part of some lawyers whether the colony could, under the laws, own and convey real estate. Denver lawyers were consulted, and it was found that it could, and the conveyance was made before any deeds were made to individuals.

We have seen that one of the resolutions of the 18th of June, was that the executive committee should serve without compensation except for *actual services* rendered by the president, superintendent and secretary. This was meant as a blow at the three last-named officers who had been receiving regular salaries. In the "West" circular it had been stated: "Regarding the salaries of officers we would say that the executive committee in session at New York determined that Mr. Meeker, president, should receive the sum of $160 per month for his services while actively engaged for the colony; that his son, Ralph Meeker, as assistant secretary, should receive $50 per month, until the business was closed in New York, which has already been ordered done. It was also agreed that Mr. Cameron, vice-president, should act as superintendent, and, after the location of the lands, should remain on the ground to receive the people and attend to their wants, and that for such actual services he should be paid $7 per day; until relieved by the executive committee. Upon Mr. West being appointed secretary it was agreed that he should be paid $6 per day for actual service, until relieved by the executive committee."

These salaries, it was contended, were too high, and that, after the first settlement, the three officers should not be receiving continual salaries at these extravagant figures. The New York executive committee had no existence any longer, only one of them, Richmond Fisk, had ever appeared on the ground. That if there was anybody having a right to suspend and regulate that matter, it was the executive committee just elected. These officers claimed (except Meeker) that they had left higher salaries to attend to the business of the colony; to which it was replied that we had all left our former business, and must expect to lose a year's time in getting things started. The advance in the value of real estate it was expected would compensate for this loss of time; and that the officers would be gainers in this as well as the rank and file. It was not denied that a reasonable compensation should be paid for time devoted to the service of the colony, but steady salaries at these high figures ought not to be tolerated.

From the books I find that the following sums were paid these officers:

N. C. Meeker, for services rendered, $650, the time being from January 3d to May 4th.

R. A. Cameron received for services $563, commencing at same date and ending August 15th. Hence the General seems to have charged only for time actually spent. At this date the office of superintendent was suspended.

H. T. West received for services $445 his time presumably commencing when he joined the locating committee, and terminating July 15th.

At this date Mr. West offered to do the work of the secretary free, provided an assistant secretary was engaged to do the principal part of the work. Frank M. Babcock was employed to do this work at $3 per day, and he was afterwards engaged as regular secretary at same figures. This was the sum regularly paid the secretary for time actually spent, until Mr. Shattuck took it for five per cent. of disbursements. The colony board served without compensation until June 30th, 1877, and from then they received one dollar apiece per session, provided there were not more than six sessions in the year. No one, not having served on this board, has any adequate idea of the time thus given away, and the mental anxiety that it cost during the first years. Sessions were frequent, and were often prolonged beyond midnight. This devotion and self-sacrifice on the part of the trustees were among the chief causes that enabled the colony to pull through the dark days that followed the spring of 1871.

The last of the resolutions of June 18th, was, "That the executive committee be requested to appoint an auditing committee of three, not of their own number, sufficiently competent for the purpose of examining and auditing the colony accounts, and that it make a report to the colony monthly."

Such a committee was appointed, but it never made any report *to the colony.* Hence there was general dissatisfaction; and about the first of September, a colony meeting took the matter into its own hands, and elected an auditing committee of five, whose names were E. T. Nichols, James H. Johnson, William Foote, Jr., W. E. Pabor and David Boyd. The executive committee was requested to hand over all books and accounts to this committee, which it did. A week was spent in this work. The accounts were found to be substantially correct, and thence the honesty of the officers vindicated. But it was found that of $100,160.00 received, $87,814.79 had been expended, and some of it, it was deemed, not wisely. Only a little over $12,000 was in the treasury, and of the sum expended, only about $6,000 had gone into ditches. The estimated cost of Number Two was $20,000. There were some $35,000 due in the spring for town lots, but this, it was contended, according to the original agreement, was to go into town improvements. The question of sufficient water for irrigation, was now coming home to the farmers, and there now arose two parties, a town party and a country party. The first had the original agreement in its favor; the other the exigency of the situation, and could easily show that there could only be an insignificant town if agriculture proved a failure.

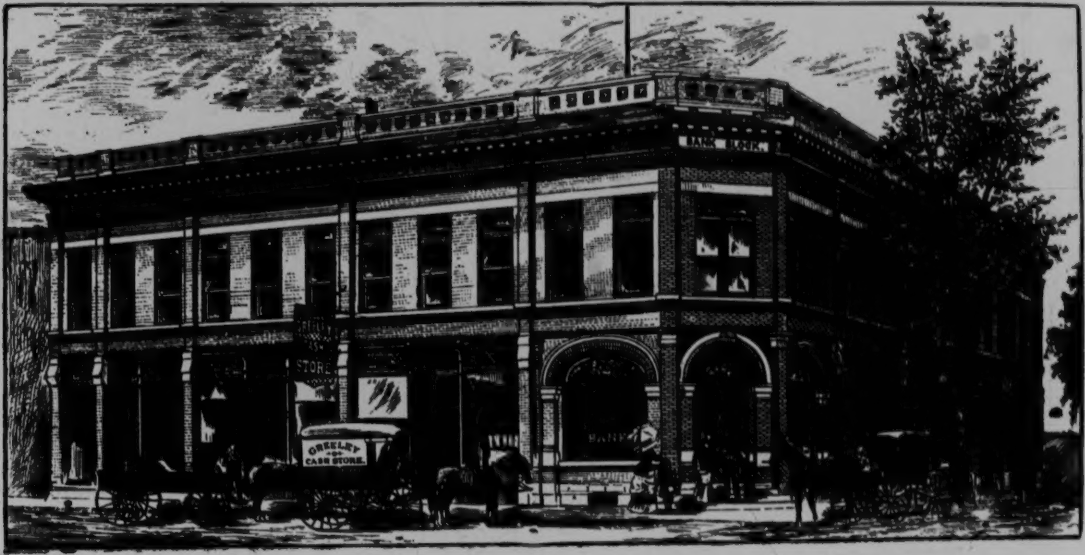
The expenditures itemized, were as follows: Cost of lands, $61,882.68; survey of land, $1.804.15; cost of ditch Number Three, $5,966.24; cost of bridges, $263.59; survey of ditch Number Two $453,67; fuel, shelter and sundries, $3,125.31; expense account to July 9th, $1.198.39; cost of town survey, $762.45; town improvements, $2.557.05; tree account, $1.490.90; Colony Hall, $1.500; New York general expense account, $2,595.41; Greeley general expense account, $3.819.38; sundries, $395.65. In all, $87,814.79.

The committee was unable to get a balance sheet from the treasurer, Horace Greeley, and his bookkeeper never could furnish one that would balance by some two thousand dollars. This was always attributed to the looseness of the way in which the business had been done, and not to dishonesty on the part of Mr. Greeley. If dishonesty there was, it must have been on the part of his employes, as Mr. Greeley was known to be incapable of even entertaining the thought of appropriating the funds of the colony to his own use. Various attempts were made to get at the root of the difficulty, but without satisfactory results. J. Heron Foster spent more than two months in the undertaking, but never reached any end.

One of the most injudicious expenditures was the purchase of a carload of trees, partly shade and partly fruit, from the Bloomington Nurseries, by N. C. Meeker. It cost, with freight and incidental expenses, over $1,400. These trees came long before water was in the ditch, and they had to be heeled in near the river. After water was brought into town and conducted along the streets, it was well on in June, and the trees were then set out under great disadvantages. However, the work was well done, and most of them made a start, but the great bulk of them died the following winter. The maples along Main street ditch, and the few elms in the park, are the relics of this early shade tree planting. As to the fruit trees, I do not believe one of them was alive two years afterwards. It never occurred to Mr. Meeker or the other members of the locating committee that this could be other than a fruit country. This was one of the great expectations in which we were doomed to be disappointed. But nothing had then been done here to enable them to decide the question one way or another. They went upon what they saw in Utah, and supposed that the conditions here were identical. Not only did they think that apples could be grown here, but also cherries, pears, peaches, apricots, and all kinds of grapes. Some localities have proved suitable for the apple, but unfortunately ours seems to be one of the worst in this regard. The locating committee had looked over the very spot near Canon City that has turned out the best fruit district this side of the range. But there was nothing then there to indicate this, except the fact, which Mr. West tells me they were apprised of, namely, that here the freighters were in the habit of turning out their broken-down animals to recover through the winter, thereby showing that here the winters were unusually mild.

Many other localities are found favorable to the production of the hardy standard fruits, but I believe that in every instance those places are nearer the mountains than we are. Some still keep hoping and planting, believing that long cultivation and irrigation will so improve the conditions that we will at last succeed. But so far the results have been most discouraging. Dr. Shaw would hardly admit that there was anything in the natural surroundings insuperable, and seems to blame us rather than them. But I believe there never was a people so set their hearts upon having orchards, laden with fruit, adorning their premises. When we found that standard apples could not be relied upon, we planted whole orchards of the finer Russian crabs; but only to see them struck with the blight and die at the top. These orchards now all lie prostrate, and the vernal air is no longer scented with their delicious perfume.

Mr. Meeker advertised in his paper for a number of years for contracts to plant trees for absentees. In all these undertakings he was as unsuccessful as he well could be. In *The Tribune* for March 14th, 1877, he makes a clean breast of it in the following words:


BANK BLOCK
STORE
GREELEY CASH STORE
BANK

FIRST NATIONAL BANK BLOCK,

"When we located in this valley of Colorado, we had no kind of idea of the difficulties attending the culture of many kinds of vegetation. The great variety of forest trees which grow in the states without any trouble, many of them as spontaneously as weeds, can here scarcely be made to live when brought hither with the greatest care and cultivated with the utmost attention. Thousands upon thousands of evergreens and larches have been set in this town and vicinity, and now we know of one larch that is alive, and which perhaps grows an inch a year; and there are not more than a dozen evergreens. Perhaps twenty barrels of black walnuts, butternuts, and hickory nuts have been sown, and there can be found a few black walnut trees two and three feet high, which, during some winters, freeze to the ground. Chestnuts live about as well as bananas would. Of the vast number of apple trees obtained the first year, it is doubtful whether twenty are alive; and pears, cherries and plums have gone the same way. The hardiest sorts of apples, usually ironclads elsewhere, have been carefully nursed and watched, and they have grown into nice trees, but the fierce cold winds have struck them to the heart. Our experience seems to be, that what we can save from the winter, and we can do a good deal in this way, the grasshoppers seize; they eat out buds and blossoms, cut off leaves, even gnaw bark, and do disgusting work. It is likely we shall be able to conquer these creatures in some way, for it seems now probable, while it is in our favor that we never have such crowds of them as come down over Kansas, Nebraska and Minnesota. A gentleman of the latter state assured us last fall that the grasshoppers covered fields in his neighborhood six inches deep all over, a thing apparently incredible, but he was a truthful man."

It is worthy of remark that we at length learned how to grow evergreens, and many beautiful ones now adorn our lawns and sidewalks, and that Mr. Meeker kept planting until he, among the first, succeeded. About larches, I suppose the same would be true had we kept on trying, for J. Max. Clark has a few beauties. The day may come when the hardier apple trees will also succeed.

During these first four months money was plenty, and was spent with too lavish a hand. There was too much of a tendency to push things in a magnificent style, and have a city spring as by magic from the bosom of the naked plains. The favorite figure of the "General" was to have the "desert blossom as the rose." It is true that, under the forcing process adopted, we had a sort of a town grow up in a hurry. But it was at first only a mushroom growth. If one took lots in town, it was required that one of them be built upon within a year, and before deeds could be got; and building on one's outside lying lands would not answer the same purpose. So it happened that those who did not intend to make the town their permanent place of abode, just put up such shanties as would secure their deeds. Most of these inferior buildings were at length moved out into the country, but for a long time a part remained unoccupied, the glass in the windows nearly all broken out by the bad boys of the town.

This arbitrary requirement of the management to build in town, was always, in the mind of the writer, a great mistake, and was abandoned by the board later on. It will be seen from the resolutions, from which we have already quoted, that a majority of the people at that time was opposed to it, holding that each individual had a right to build on any of his parcels of ground he might select. In this I believe the masses were wiser than their leaders.

From this it happened that when Horace Greeley visited us, October 12th, he found the settlement all town and no country—a state of affairs he very much disliked. It is true that it was now next to impossible to settle on the lands over the river. No benefit could have come from it and much privation would have been experienced. There was no bridge, there was no ditch, and no one knew how deep one would have to dig before getting water. When experiment was made, it was found to vary from fifty to seventy-five feet, and then it was in most places undrinkable from alkali. When these circumstances were set before him, he was appeased. But this did not apply to small tracts on this side of the river, where people should have been allowed to build if they wished.

Mr. Greeley had been expected to be here on the Fourth of July and deliver an oration at our celebration of that day. The state of his health did not permit this. Indeed, from his letters to N. C. Meeker, it can be seen that he was breaking down from overwork, and he was sighing for the time when he could retire, and expressed the wish that he could spend the evening of his day amongst us.

But the Fourth was celebrated in grand style, nevertheless. There was an oration by General E. M. Lee, of Cheyenne, a poem by Willie E. Pabor, read by J. G. Cooper; the reading of the Declaration of Independence, by H. T. West; response to the toast, "Our Country, the Hope of the World," by Governor Evans; to toast, "The Declaration of Independence," by E. C. Monk, with music by the military band from Fort Russell, etc.

When Mr. Greeley did arrive in our town at the date named, he was met at the depot by nearly the entire population, and received with three rousing cheers. He was escorted to *The Greeley Tribune* building, where it was arranged he should address the people at 1:30 o'clock. A hasty stand was constructed in front of the office, and from this he talked to the people in a calm, fatherly way, giving them what he believed good, practical advice. He spoke in praise of irrigation compared with rain, for successful farming; advised herding the stock rather than fencing; found fault that so little had been done in the country compared with the town, and advised them to form a Farmers' Club, and other associations, for information and amusement. He gave the Colorado cattlemen a good hit, when speaking of the drouth in some of the eastern states, on account of which many cattle were dying, they having not yet learned that grass, after it was dried up and eaten off, was still good feed for cattle.

While here he wrote a letter for *The Tribune*, which is quite inaccurate in many of its statements. He had only heard the side of the officers, and his own observations were hasty and superficial.

The first number of *The Greeley Tribune* was issued November 16, 1870, and from that day to this it has been a power in Greeley. The following is its prospectus :

*The Greeley Tribune* is printed at Greeley, Colorado, and its objects are,

"First. To give full particulars of whatever relates to the Union Colony, of which the town of Greeley is the center, and to show the advantage of colonization on our plan.

"Second. To call attention to the attractions and wonderful resources of the Rocky Mountain country, of which little is yet known by the American people.

"Third. To teach that the highest power that man can exhibit grows out of mental culture, and at the same time, out of well established habits of industry connected either with the cultivation of the soil or with some mechanical pursuit.

"Fourth. To enforce the doctrine that the foundation of all prosperity, whether of nations or individuals, is based on the family relation as maintained in civilized countries, and that the highest ambition of a family should be to have a comfortable and, if possible, an elegant home surrounded by orchards, and ornamental ground, on lands of its own."

In regard to the first of these objects, it may be said that no newspaper was more intensely local than *The Greeley Tribune* as conducted by N. C. Meeker. It was, however, the intention of both himself and Mr. Greeley to make this a model for many colonies to follow its general plan, and settle the rest of the arid plains susceptible of irrigation. It was to be like Arthur's "Round Table," "The beginning of a time." Hence the organization as originally named at New York was "Union Colony Number One." So we see that not only was it designed to have others follow as independent movements, but that others should be organized by the leaders of Union Colony and under its auspices. When Mr. Greeley returned to New York, he published in his paper answers to a series of nineteen questions relating to Union Colony. This is one of them :

"'Would you recommend the formation of more such colonies?' 'Yes, ten thousand like this, or as much better as can be devised.'" By the way, this series of questions and their answers are published in this first number of *The Greeley Tribune*, and here we will quote one other :

"'Will the colony live and prosper?' 'That depends upon the people. I do not see how it can well contrive to die, unless its members should take to drink or some kindred folly, and so squander their magnificent opportunities.'"

In accordance with this general colonization scheme, when there was a call for the first meeting of the Chicago Colony, Meeker and Cameron went from here and attended it, and took a leading part in shaping its policy. This was the colony that founded Longmont, but of it we mean to treat farther on.

As regards the second object of the paper—the giving information about the Rocky Mountain region—it is to be noted that N. C. Meeker never was a "boomer" of this or any other country; he stated what he believed to be the exact truth, and when there was a gigantic effort made about two years after, to induce a wholesale immigration to the state without any adequate preparations, he raised his voice against it, and so incurred the enmity of the leaders in this scheme—notably, William N. Byers.

In regard to the third : It was well known how highly Mr. Meeker prized the industrial life when combined with intelligence and sterling character, and how steadily he kept before the people the aim of aspiring to this noble combination.

As for the last, Greeley has been called the city of homes. It has been one of the chief aspirations of the great majority of our people to make for their families comfortable and beautiful homes, and much elegance of taste, as a general rule, has prevailed in planning the buildings and surroundings. If the orchards and more delicate ornamental trees are wanting, it is not, as has been shown, for want of earnest endeavor on our part. It is here worthy of note how prominent Mr. Meeker made this at the start, and how strenuously he set himself to lead the way.

In this first issue of *The Tribune* we have an article on "Fruit prospects," in which he gives his own well known sanguine expectations, and attributes the failure, so far as tried, to the negligence and ignorance of the old settlers in these matters.

There is also a long discussion of the cattle question, in which he takes issue with Dr. Latham, and defends opinions with which the reader is familiar.

Two articles are upon the liquor question, one about how a Gentile vender of this article came to grief through the action of the Mormon authorities, and the other relates the story so often and widely told, of how the Dutchman from Evans, who undertook to sell whisky under our noses in defiance of the universal sentiment against it, was burnt out, not himself, but his sod hut, whisky, barrels, and bedbugs.

Many of the business notices are worthy of mention here.

Mr. Meeker advertises as in the real estate business with William E. Pabor. Cameron is postmaster and has a drug house in company with his father-in-law, J. B. Flower. A. Z. Salomon is established with a large stock of goods in the spacious store built on the corner where Union bank now stands, and has in a full column advertisement. The firm of Emerson, West & Buckingham was for some time doing a banking business in the grout building, erected by H. T. West, and which is now occupied by the real estate firm of Sanborn, Phillips & Company. Corydon W. Sanborn and W. F. Thompson were doing a magnificent lumber business. William H. Post was doing business in books and stationery in a brick building just finished, and now occupied by Mr. Green as a second-hand store. Near by in another brick building Mr. Perkins was selling furniture, while on the corner, now occupied by the Oasis, Mr. Root was keeping the "Greeley House," then the only hotel in the place; but across the road from *The Tribune* office Mr. Rogerson had nearly finished his hotel, named the "Colorado House." Mr. Russell Fisk was doing a general mercantile business in the lower part of the "New York Exchange," the upper story being "Colony Hall." The colony had furnished $2,500 towards the erection of this building, and was to have the use of the hall for two years, when the colony was to be reimbursed by Fisk. E. C. Monk & Company were doing a dry goods business on north side of Main street, while E. T. Nichols was doing a general mercantile business on corner known then as Barnum Block, but now Park Place. Jacob Welch & Son had built the one-story brick, now owned by F. E. Smith & Company, and there was doing a flourishing general business. F. L. Childs was running the only bakery, and had about finished building the house now standing west of Graham's hotel. J. Leavy advertises as nurseryman and florist, and was then preparing the grounds which have so long been adorned with his greenhouse and flower borders. H. Boettcher was selling hardware, and B. F. Pinneo and J. C. Abbott were each running meat markets.

We will close this notice of the first issue of *The Greeley Tribune* with the following prophetic utterance of the editor:

"Two classes of events are presented in our colony life, one class is connected with the affairs of individuals, which even by those concerned are quickly forgotten. It is *doubtful whether a history of these days, as affecting individuals, ever will or can be written—it is doubtful whether it would be of any benefit if it were written. Another class of events can be readily recorded*—these relate to the progress and growth of the colony. Individuals may rise or fall—may live or die, property may be lost or gained, but the colony as a whole will prosper, and the spot on which we labor, so long as the world stands, will be the center of intelligence and activity. Great social reforms leading to the elevation of mankind move as if directed by destiny. It is the vast future more than the brief present which is to be benefited; hence sympathies and feelings are of little moment, and the cause moves on with irresistible power as if animated by a cold life of its own"

As we have said, *The Tribune* was a great power in the hands of Mr. Meeker, and his writing in it has done at least as much to make him famous as any other of his undertakings. In a pecuniary sense it was a losing business. When, for reasons which we shall hereafter recite, it was resolved by those opposed to Mr. Meeker to start as their organ *The Colorado Sun*, Mr. Greeley, in a letter to Mr. Meeker, advised him to sell out to the party proposing to start the new paper, as the place could not support both. Mr. Greeley knew the financial embarrassment in which his friend was placed. He also saw that he had too many irons in the fire, and was working himself to death. However, I do not doubt that Mr. Meeker was wiser not to take his friend's advice. However much hardship his work on the paper brought to himself and family, the competency he might have earned in other employments he would have regarded, at best, but a poor offset for the influence upon the destiny of his people which he would have lost thereby. It is the life of noble effort that brings with it its daily blessings, and not the pecuniary reward of this effort. Of this joy of the workman conscious of doing good, honest, needed work, Mr.

Meeker was an abundant partaker. He would have felt it "dull to rest unburnished, not to shine in use, as though to breathe were life."

Knowing these financial straits in which Mr. Meeker was environed, Mr. Greeley loaned him $1,000 with the understanding that he would not be expected to pay it until he had gotten his feet well under him, and that no interest would be exacted. But upon the death of Mr. Greeley his administrators were informed of the loan, and a demand was made on Mr. Meeker for its payment. The latter did not deny the loan but stated the conditions of it, and that then he was in worse circumstances than when his friend had so generously relieved him. He said that Mr. Greeley had really donated this to the cause, and had he lived he would never have exacted it of him until able to pay it without injury to himself and family. However, the matter was brought into court. Mr. Meeker deeded as a basis of settlement forty acres of land which the colony had donated him on account of services rendered without pay for years. But there was an unsettled remainder left, and to liquidate this and other indebtedness, as both he and his wife have informed the writer, he undertook the White River Indian agency. Such is the devious path in which the noblest are often led to their fatal end.*

The above mentioned forty acres were donated by the colony board to N. C. Meeker in obedience to a resolution offered by R. A. Cameron, and adopted by a mass meeting of citizens, and during the absence of Mr. Meeker. The General and he had quarreled before this, but Cameron said he made this motion because he knew Mr. Meeker's services deserved it, and he did not want to hear it being repeated that we were so ungrateful as not to pay even sentimental debts.

* When Mr. Greeley's daughters came to the estate they ordered the proceedings stopped in court.

# CHAPTER VII.

IRRIGATION—ITS IMPORTANCE TO TOWN AS WELL AS COLONY—QUANTITY OF WATER NEEDED TO IRRIGATE GIVEN AREAS—VIEWS IN FARMERS' CLUB ON THIS SUBJECT—IRRIGATION IN ITALY BY J. MAX. CLARK IN REPLY TO H. T. WEST—CLARK AT IRRIGATION CONVENTION AT DENVER—FRED M. STANTON BEFORE THE SAME—CLARK'S REVIEW OF STANTON'S ESTIMATES—W. J. RAND'S REPLY TO CLARK'S ARTICLE—THE CAPACITY OF CLEAR CREEK FROM STATE ENGINEER'S MEASUREMENTS—REVIEW OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN NEWS OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF IRRIGATION CONVENTION, AND J. MAX. CLARK'S REJOINDER—BIG CANAL PROJECTED FROM PLATTE CANON AND THE REPORT OF IT IN "NEWS"—CRITICISM OF THIS SCHEME BY THE AUTHOR.

THE importance of success in irrigation to our town and colony cannot be over estimated. Upon this rock the whole enterprise came near splitting. It would be saying, perhaps, too much to assert that if we had failed to develop agriculture by irrigation there would now be no town where Greeley stands. There would have remained, after failure in that direction, a small trading post, the headquarters of sheep and cattle men, but whether it or Evans would have become the county seat would be doubtful, or rather, not at all doubtful, as with the greater outside vote which Evans had, it would have been sure to beat Greeley in the race; and with the county seat would have gone the greater portion of the people, and the few that would have lingered here would have been those not interested in prohibition. Hence the water question has precedence in the Poudre valley. The quantity of land under cultivation was very small when the colony settled here. That actually under crops did not exceed 1,000 acres. This was all first bottom land. Near Greeley Robert Boyd was the only cultivator who in 1870 had in a crop of about 200 acres. B. H. Eaton, some ten miles up the creek, had in crops 160 acres. The rest was scattered along from there up, but largely near La Porte.

When we come to the question of establishing priority of appropriations, we shall see the enormous claims made for this small area of cultivated land. Meanwhile we will review the part taken by Greeley men in reaching definite and precise views as to the quantity of water needed, the capacity of ditches to carry given volumes, and the probable capacity of the South Platte and its tributaries, and the maximum quantity of land that can be irrigated from the latter.

This subject engaged the attention of the Greeley Farmers' Club. In a report of a meeting of this body contained in *The Greeley Tribune*, February 19th, 1873, we find the following:

"The Chairman, D. Boyd inquired as to the amount of land in Colorado capable of cultivation, taking into account the water supply. His own opinion was that most of the estimates were fallacious.

"A. J. Wilber said that he considered the water falling on the eastern slope of the mountains as capable of supplying all the lands for 100 miles east of their base. Mr. Boyd estimated that the Cache La Poudre would not irrigate over 100,000 acres, the Big Thompson and St. Vrain 150,000 acres, and the Platte above the mouth of St. Vrain's 250,000 acres more. This would be 500,000 for Platte and tributaries."

This estimate, it was said, was made without taking account of reservoirs which could be made to considerably increase this area. This would not be a strip more than twelve miles wide from the canon of the Platte to that of the Poudre, and this would leave fifty miles on the north, over sixty on the south, half way to the canon of the Arkansas practically unprovided with water. So it will be seen that this latter estimate gives only an average strip of five miles from the Wyoming line to half way between the Platte and Arkansas canons as the capacity of the South Platte and its tributaries, while Mr. Wilber's gave a hundred miles through the whole extent.

The chairman gave as the capacity of the Arkansas and Rio Grande in Colorado, as only 500,000 acres. This, from present knowledge, is too low, and was only a vague guess, but we shall see that for the average year the estimate of the South Platte is not far from the truth.

*The Greeley Tribune*, for September 17th of same year, contains an article on irrigation in Italy, by J. Max Clark. The article was called out by one of H. T. West, in a previous issue, which took the ground that with some work done on the first three miles, Canal Number Two was large enough to water all the land under it. It will show our readers the vigor and intelligence with which such subjects were handled in those days.

"It has been our great drawback in agriculture from the beginning here, that parties not engaged in the business, and having no practical knowledge of irrigation, and nothing but a sort of theoretical itching interest in the farm, have continually sought to advise us as to what might, could or should be done, while those practical men who have for years been engaged in the pursuit, have lacked either the ability or the inclination to tell us what they know. And now, after quite a goodly number of us have been making this system of tilling the soil our exclusive business for the past three years, and have sought to obtain all the knowledge we could by close observation, repeated experiments, and the most careful study of all available sources of information, here comes a banker, who, in the intervals of business hours has found time to do a little not very successful tinkering in a garden, and has sunk a little money in non-resident farming over the river, and proposes, at one fell sweep to upset all our careful calculations as to our necessities and resources, and tells us, at one guess, more than all we know upon the subject. * * * * * * *

"Now a word about the system of irrigation in Utah. It may be said, that while the Mormons have practiced it a little longer than we have, they know very little more about it, and except, perhaps in the city of Salt Lake, they resort to very little more system than we do. They have, so far as I have been able to learn, contributed nothing to the world's store of knowledge on the subject, have written no books, advanced no new theories, recorded no new facts, and when, some three years since, the Farmer's Club of this place corresponded with some of their principal men upon the subject, with a view to ascertain facts of importance for our own application and use, they were able to afford us nothing of any practical value.

"It is quite fortunate for us that in Italy they have practiced this art for centuries. They have there such costly appliances, such extensive works in the shape of dams, sluices, water-gates, head-gates, flumes, reservoirs, etc., and such a perfect system withal as we may not expect for years to come. They have, for us, what is more important still, extensive treatises on the subject, containing valuable information as to the effects of the system upon the soil after hundreds of years of trial, statistics as to the amount of water required, and records of the size and capacity of their canals, and the number of acres cultivated under them, which cannot fail to be of infinite advantage to a people proposing to practice the art in other lands. And now let us see what, with all this wealth of appliance, all these centuries of experience, these people only a few years since were able to accomplish. The canal Caluso, from the Orco river, Piedmont, Italy, is more than three hundred years old. It is twenty miles in length, is twenty six feet wide at its head, is six feet deep, and has a fall of seventeen feet to the mile. Our canal is twenty feet wide at its head, has never carried more than a depth of three feet at the first flume, has a fall at the greatest of only three feet to the mile, and must have less than one-fifth of the capacity of the canal under consideration; and yet this canal of which it is said it should water 19,000 acres, has never been made to water more than fifteen."

Then follows a similar description of five other Italian canals, and the writer proceeds as follows:

"When we consider that in these districts the economy of water has been the study of the people and the government for centuries, two conclusions are inevitable from the facts.

"First, That though quite young in the business, yet considering that each year's tillage embodies a considerable portion of land which has never been before really wet, since the great waters of the ocean receded from the plains, we make about as good use of the means at hand—our water supply—as these people who have been so long skilled in its use.

"Second, Our canal requires to be enlarged to many times its present capacity, H. T. West to the contrary, notwithstanding, before it will be capable of irrigating even the fair lands lying under it.

"When in the article referred to, I put the capacity of our canal at from five to six thousand acres, I did it on this showing, and was fully satisfied that this could only be done with the best management possible. There are under Canal Number Two, 35,000 acres of land. We have obliged ourselves to furnish water under certain conditions specified in the deeds for 24,000 acres. Now assuming that water will never be required for more than 20,000 acres, we should require the canal to be not less than thirty-five feet wide at the head, half that width at the terminus and at least six feet deep. We ought, if possible, to enlarge the ditch immediately to the capacity of watering 10,000 acres. To do this would require the ditch to be at least thirty feet wide at the head, fifteen feet wide at the lower end, and four feet deep.

"We have thousands of acres of splendid land under our ditches lying idle because people with good reason distrust the capacity of our canals. If our property is ever going to appreciate in value, as it should in time, it must largely result from the successful prosecution of agriculture. Successful agriculture depends mainly on an abundant supply of water; and though the question of reservoirs must soon become an important one, our supply of water for the present depends upon the size of our canals. We do not expect to be able to enlarge Canal Number Two sufficiently this time; it is now a question of our immediate wants. The way to effect anything is for all to take hold with a will and do something."

Now, although the estimates of the capacity of our canal to irrigate the lands under it turns out in our experience to be somewhat larger than needed, yet it was a wholesome view of the case and was based upon the only reliable data that ever was put before our eyes, and we owe the author a debt of gratitude for bestowing this thorough research to a matter so vital to all, during days filled with severe labor in the struggle to make ends meet, under the discouraging circumstances of the first years.

Armed with statistics like these, Mr. Clark attended the Irrigation Convention held at Denver about the middle of September, 1873. To this convention were invited delegates from all the States and Territories interested in irrigation, Utah, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Kansas and Nebraska. The main object was to get up a petition to Congress to donate half the government land to the building of ditches, watering the same. This was done, but met no response. It was to be in fact a tail to the immigration kite which the year before had come down so disastrously. Thousands had been induced to come to the State by lying circulars and pamphlets, sent out by the Immigration Commission appointed by the action of the last year's Legislature. Men came here, without adequate means or organization, to build the ditches needed to make the land available for cultivation, and they went back cursing the country. The editor of *The Rocky Mountain News,* Wm. N. Byers, whilom trustee of Union Colony and the counselor of our locating committee, was deeply into this immigration scheme, and seeing the mistake of the year just past, projected the scheme of an extensive irrigation movement, and through his instrumentality chiefly, the irrigation convention met. Now Byers either had, or pretended to have, magnificent views of the extent of country that could be watered from the Platte and its tributaries. It is not possible to determine whether this gentleman and his coadjutors believed that the vast areas they spoke of could be watered by these streams, or whether it was intended to *cover* these lands with ditches to sell them to tenderfeet, pretending that there would be sufficient water to irrigate them. Plenty of this kind of thing was undertaken in these days, and the sequel will show that the leaders in this matter are to be suspected.

Foremost on the side of the magnificent view was Fred M. Stanton, an Englishman, who called himself an engineer. He read a magniloquent address upon the capabilities of the rivers of Colorado. He says in this address" Twenty-five millions of acres can be reclaimed to Colorado by a system of irrigating canals." He says the Kansas Pacific has 1,150,000 acres of land that can be covered by a canal taken out of the Platte canon. To do this, he says: "Suppose that a canal of one hundred miles long, *twelve* feet wide and *three* feet deep will cost, etc. The Platte river can more than supply the water; store it in reservoirs, while the water is not needed for consumption; when it is, draw on the sand creeks, which the canal will cover in its passage or, if this is not enough, tap Chicago lake, the Twin lakes and numbers of others which can be made available with very little engineering cost and skill."

This is but one part of his mighty scheme that is to cover 25,000,000 of acres in Colorado, but it is sufficient for our purpose. At this stage of the proceedings Mr. Clark, charged to the muzzle as he was with facts and figures, appears on the platform, and reads the following paper:

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention: I am a farmer. I till the earth with my own hands. I am accustomed to carry the mud of the waters of irrigation on my boot heels, and the brown dust of the desert in my hair; and when I read in the report of the proceedings of the Farmers' convention of last June, what all the ex-governors, judges, lawyers and politicians had to say on the subject of irrigation, it occurred to me that if in this meeting there should mingle in with all that hopeful, enthusiastic, profound, professional thought upon so important a subject, a little more of the thinking of the practical, plodding, calculating element of the farm, it might not be inappropriate or amiss in a farmers' movement. * * * We have seen the area of our arable land estimated all the way from four to ten millions of acres, when we don't believe there are two millions; and we have read with fear and trembling how the Hon. Fred Stanton, enthusiastic upon the almighty resources of our common country, and the agricultural resources of Colorado in particular, is proposing to cut a great gash in the earth, from South Platte cañon to Kansas City, and water all the land on both sides of the ridge. These things must 'give us pause,' and herein is the 'respect' which we fear 'will make calamity' of all our business. There are some things which are better underdone than overdone as for instance our porridge and our prayers; and it seems to us this business of irrigation is one of them. If we have too much water, how easy to run it off; but if we have too little, how difficult to run it on.

"Taking an average over the whole irrigated district of Italy, it requires a discharge of a cubic foot of water per second to irrigate sixty-six acres of land; and supposing Mr. Stanton should only propose to irrigate an insignificant strip of country two miles wide the whole length of his district, and in round numbers say 750,000 acres, he would require a discharge of 11,362 cubic feet of water per second during the whole irrigating season, a volume of water, let me say, I do not hesitate to believe equals, if it does not exceed, the entire mean discharge of all our streams, including the Platte north of the Divide, from the middle of May to the middle of July, in any ordinary year. (To carry this great volume of water Mr. Stanton would require a ditch two hundred feet wide, nine and a half feet deep, with a current running at the rate of four miles an hour.) * * It is fortunate that the most extensively irrigated country on the globe in point of size compares favorably with our own. The Kingdom of Italy contains 140,000 square miles, while the territory of Colorado contains one hundred and fourteen thousand.

"But while the two countries are about equal in point of size, the river system of Italy is much more extensive than our own. The whole discharge of her rivers is estimated at sixty-five thousand feet per second, and in the two districts of Lombardy and Piedmont they actually utilize twenty-four thousand feet per second, or twice as much as the total mean discharge of all our streams north of the Divide from the middle of May to the middle of July. And yet this enormous water supply, and after hundreds of years of experience in the art of irrigation, a few years since when an examination was made into the workings of their system, it was found that their actual irrigated surface only equaled one million, six hundred thousand acres.

"I have said that the mean discharge of all our rivers north of the Divide for the irrigating season did not more than equal the eleven or twelve thousand cubic feet per second which Mr. Stanton would require for his big ditch."

Then follows his data and estimate of the average capacity of the Poudre for the two months beginning May fifteenth. This, in cubic feet per second, he gives as fifteen hundred, according to Italian experience, which gives sixty-six acres as the duty of water would give one hundred thousand acres in an average year as the capacity in irrigated acres of the Poudre. At this time there was no gauging station, and Mr. Clark had to make his estimates from sectional area of the stream and estimated velocity. We shall hereafter see how close an approximation this non-professional, quick-witted farmer made.

The other main tributaries of the Platte he could not estimate from so well observed data, but gave what he considered close approximations, and arrived at the conclusion that for the average year the whole area might be put in round numbers at half a million acres. His estimate for that portion of the state south of the Divide is a quarter-million. Here his knowledge was deficient, and he made a worse guess than the chairman of the Farmers' Club had made a few years before. However, the actual capacity of these streams is not yet ascertained with any degree of definiteness, as we shall see farther on.

In his conclusion, Mr. Clark says :

"First. In no country in the world has any system of irrigation been devised and practiced, which has utilized more than two-thirds of the actual water supply.

"Second. Reservoirs cannot to any great extent increase the mean capacity of the streams, they may lengthen out the period of irrigation; but, as all grain crops require from one to three applications in June and July, and all at the same time, making the demand for water in the early part of the season, they can add but little to our capacity for grain farming at least.

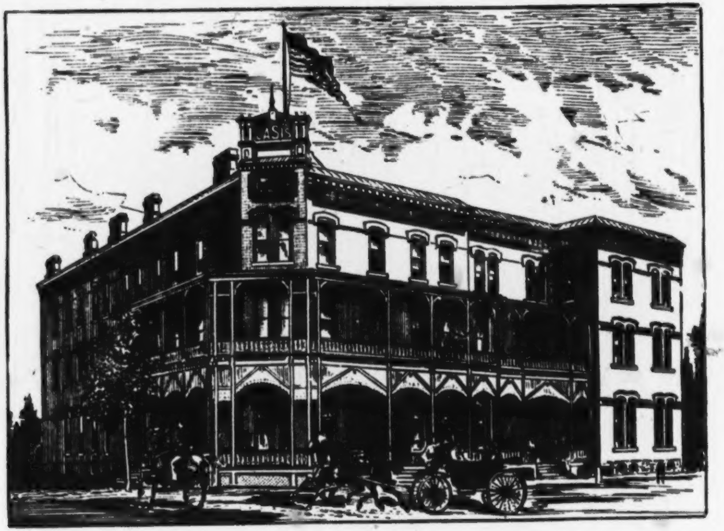
"Third. The country—Italy—from which the basis for these estimates is taken, has an annual rainfall of thirty-six inches, or three times that of Colorado.

"Before closing this address, I wish to say that by this exhibit I do not design or wish to discourage. No man in this country feels a greater interest in the future of Colorado than myself. I am actively engaged in the cultivation of her soil, propose to make the territory my home for aught that I know, during the remainder of my lifetime, and am full of hope and confidence for her future greatness and success as a state. I sympathize heartily, too, with the effort being made to secure for us a sound, practical, economical, just system of irrigation; one which will insure to us the most perfect development of our agricultural resources, one which will tax all the lands to be benefited by our canals with the cost of their construction, their maintenance and repairs; and above all things one that shall insure the ownership of the water with the people, among the settlers of the soil."

Of course the above bomb exploding, threw the camp of the speculators into consternation; and as no answer from men without experience would be equal to the occasion, so another farmer who could tell what he knew, or thought he knew, about irrigation, had to be found. The proper person to rejoin was found in Mr. W. J. Rand, of Clear Creek, before whose experience that of J. Max. Clark sunk into utter insignificance. Let us hear him :

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen : Like the gentleman who read a paper last evening, I am also a tiller of the ground, and also carry mud on my heels from irrigating ditches; but I fail to arrive at the same conclusions which J. Max. Clark, of Greeley, arrives at in regard to irrigation. He says that all the streams north of the Divide have a capacity only of watering half a million acres of land. I claim that

Clear Creek, one of the smallest tributaries of the Platte river, is capable of irrigating half a million acres. There are some twenty ditches now in operation, taken out of Clear Creek, and watering fifty thousand acres of cultivated land, and there is no perceptible difference to the eye in the volume of Clear Creek in consequence of it during the time of irrigation. There are also one hundred thousand acres of land at least, which can be irrigated, but which are not cultivated. This in all makes one hundred and fifty thousand acres which can be made available from one side of the Clear Creek alone. The people on the bottoms of Clear Creek want it taken away in ditches, as it overflows and gives them a little too much water. If the stream will irrigate one hundred and fifty thousand acres, and no sign of diminution of volume, how many acres will it irrigate? I have no hesitation in saying that Clear Creek alone has a capacity of watering more acres than Mr. Clark says the whole of the streams north of the Divide have a capacity for. Take in consideration that Clear Creek is one of the smallest of our streams, not above one-fourth the size of the Cache la Poudre, it will be seen that Mr. Clark has made a fearful mistake in his calculations. I have had twenty-two years experience in irrigation—in Utah and California ten years, and in Colorado twelve years. I think, therefore, that I know something of irrigation. Being a practical farmer, I claim that with good and sufficient industry and economy, fifty inches will irrigate one hundred acres, but it must not be by turning on the water at night, and going to bed leaving it to distribute itself, as probably my friend from Greeley does. My calculations make it a certainty that you must not stand around with your hands in your pockets. In regard to the price of water: in the Golden City and Arapahoe ditch the price is one dollar and fifty cents per inch for the season; add to which one dollar per acre for labor. Thus it will be seen that the cost of irrigating land with industry and economy is only one dollar and seventy-five cents per acre, and this will double the crop over land which is not irrigated in other sections of the United States. * * The statement of some gentlemen that irrigation will cost, some say five dollars, some seven dollars, some thirteen dollars and some sixteen dollars per acre, falls to the ground alongside of my experience from the above figures. I cannot see how it is made out, and I would like to have an explanation of it. In regard to the irrigable area from the mountains to the Missouri river, I contend that north of the Divide there is at least three-fourths enough water to irrigate the whole, if applied judiciously, and the balance to be reserved for grazing and pasture lands at any event. I thought it necessary that some answer



OASIS HOTEL.

should be given to the erroneous statements of Mr. Clark, as they may seriously injure us upon their publication in the newspapers. He no doubt thinks just what he says, but I am satisfied, in common with all the farmers in Jefferson county, that he is fearfully mistaken in his figures and calculations."

This is worthy of quotation in more respects than one. It shows the views of an old settler, such as we had for our guidance when we came here, contrasted with those of a Greeley man after only three years' experience. We may remark that there is a confusion in the mind of Mr. Rand about the price per acre for water, he having in his mind yearly rental, and the others, the cost of construction per acre. At ten per cent. interest his seventy-five cents rent per acre represents seven dollars and fifty cents per acre invested in cost of ditch. Besides Mr. Rand talks, as all old settlers did, about inches of water instead of cubic feet per second. This inch was always varying. Mr. Rand thought he could water two acres with it. Likely he could if it was maintained running long enough, and he had a variety of crops. It will be also seen that Mr. Rand's only basis of computation was that the stream had suffered no *visible* diminution during the irrigation season by the irrigation of what he estimates at 50,000 acres. It is to be noted that the summers of '72 and '73 had very high water compared with the three previous years; and this fact ruined this observation as a basis for making estimates.

But now let us get at the facts about the capacity of Clear Creek as late experience has demonstrated. In the state engineer's report for 1888, we find the water commissioner for that district, number seven, states that the number of acres of alfalfa irrigated during that year was 18,901; of other tame grasses and clover, 18,456; of native grasses irrigated, 3,362, and of all other crops, 23,135. Besides this there was about 1,000 acres irrigated to miscellaneous crops under a number of very small ditches. This makes the total area irrigated during 1888, 64,854. The number of acres under the ditches which it is said could be irrigated he gives as 98,242. It is not said whether the ditches have the capacity to irrigate this surplus—about half that irrigated—or not. The number of cubic feet per second appropriated by all the ditches, the engineer gives as 1,180. This at sixty-six acres per foot would give 77,880 acres, which is about midway between that actually irrigated and that which is said could be irrigated. It is to be remarked that this district gives the highest duty of water of any one in the state, which is owing to two facts—one is that the lands in this district are near Denver, hence very valuable, and more ditches are in operation than there is water to fill. Many of the crops mentioned in the report no doubt were insufficiently watered, and some not at all. That all the water was used very early in the season, is proved by the fact that district number two—the Platte below Clear creek—got out an injunction restraining Clear creek district from using all the water, as it was doing about the first of July, 1888. Another fact is the great area of alfalfa and other hay crops, allowing the water to be used in connection with cultivated crops during a long season of irrigation.

The above showing, clearly sets before us whether Mr. Clark or Mr. Rand was wild in his calculations. However, it enabled the editor of *The News* to make the following report of the proceedings, so far as concerns the contributions of these two gentlemen :

"Mr. J. Max Clark's address was a wordy bundle of absurdities—the most sophomoric production read before the convention. His opening sentence in which he describes himself as a farmer with the mud of the waters of irrigation on his boot-heels, and the brown dust of the desert in his hair, are certainly interesting personal reminiscences to the reading public, which will entertain the hope that Mr. J. Max. Clark at least blacked his boots and indulged in the luxury of a shampooing before presenting himself before his fellow-delegates. The astonishing statements and alarming conclusions reached by this agricultural philosopher, were most completely ventilated by Mr. W. J. Rand, whose paper was given to the convention on Thursday evening. Mr. Rand is a practical and successful farmer, and has had almost a quarter of a century of experience in irrigation, and his short but pointed rejoinder, bristled with facts and ideas, and completely crushed the gentleman who carried the 'brown bust of the desert in his hair.' Mr. Stanton's paper was a very important one, and abounded in terse and compact statements of facts and figures, with practical engineering suggestions."

This commits the editor of *The News* to the views of both Rand and Stanton, and shows that his reputed wisdom in these matters was amazingly overrated. As before said, he, through his paper, was the recognized authority on these topics when the colony settled here, and we had to learn by the dearest kind of experience that he knew nothing of what he was pretending to give information about. But Mr. Clark was not to be put down. In addition to writing the above abusive paragraph, the editor had suppressed that part of Mr. Clark's paper giving the proof of his estimates. Immediately Mr. Clark addressed to the editor a most caustic review of his attitude, of which the following is a part :

"'In the wordy' paper alluded to, I attacked no man, nor the motive of any man's theory. I represent a large share of the farmers of our territory who, as a class, have little faith in the visionary schemes of our brethren, the editors, politicians and business men of Denver; and who believe that the fair unvarnished truth concerning our climate, our various productive interests, and particularly the extent of our agricultural resources and the productiveness of our soil, will much better subserve our interests as a people, than buncombe speeches filled with desert rose bushes, buncombe statistics of productions that lie, and buncombe ditches on paper that can never be filled.

"In that paper I undertook to show, by a fair comparison with Italy, an extensively irrigated country, favorably comparing with Colorado in size, that we should probably never be able to bring under cultivation, by means of artificial irrigation, more than one million acres of land; I showed that the minimum discharge of the principal stream in the great irrigated districts of Italy during the dry summer months exceeded that of the Platte by two or three times; I affirmed, as can be seen at a glance, on any good map of Italy, that their water system greatly exceeded our own; and I showed that after hundreds of years of practice and experiment in the art, there were under cultivation, in her borders, but one million, six hundred thousand acres of actually irrigated soil. *You purposely left this statement out of my article because it was a fact, and because, as a sum total, it did not look well.* I showed that Mr. Stanton's big ditch, in order to water the land proposed, would require a width of two hundred feet and a depth of nine and a half feet, with a current flowing at the rate of four miles an hour; and you left out that statement not because it was personal, for you printed the most personal part of my article; not because you wished to save space, for it did not do so to any extent, which would warrant the omission of so important a statement, but you left it out because it was a statement you could not controvert, which you were afraid could not be controverted, which did not look well, and which for reasons of your own, reasons which you had no right to make your guide in the premises, you did not wish to go out to the world. And when I undertook, as you style it, to defend myself the second evening, and stated in my reply to Mr. Stanton that his ditch of twelve feet wide on the bottom and three feet deep, in order to water the proposed million one hundred and fifty thousand acres, would require a velocity of current equal to four miles per minute, four times faster than maximum railroad time, you left that statement out for the same reason.

"Now let me say to Mr. Rand, who estimated that Clear Creek alone would irrigate half a million acres, and that the stream north of the Divide would irrigate three-fourths of the land between the foothills and the Missouri river; and to Mr. Stanton, who placed the water supply as sufficient for thirty millions of acres; that the eastern states have an average annual rainfall of fifty inches; that the thirty millions of acres proposed to be brought under cultivation have but an average of ten, leaving a deficit of forty inches to be made up by artificial means. Dit it ever occur to these gentlemen that there is no source from which this forty inches is to be drawn? The case can be stated in a few words: the source of supply is the eastern slope of the snowy range, a region two hundred and fifty miles long and about thirty wide, and here the aggregate fall of moisture cannot be greater than in the Atlantic states. Besides, not more than one-half of the melted snow can find its way out on the plains—possibly not more than one-quarter—and to furnish the water supply necessary for the proposed thirty million acres, their calculations presuppose, that the mountain regions must receive a uniform depth of rainfall during the summer of about eight feet, and twenty-four feet of packed snow during the winter, and that the grand sum total must reach the plains and the fields to be watered, through long canals without loss by evaporation of melting snow, by sinking in the soil when it melts, and by descending into millions of depressions having no outlet. Suppose, gentlemen, that you theorize on the facts awhile, and when you demonstrate your proposition I will undertake to offer you another.

* * * "Finally let me encourage Friend Stanton with the remark that the Hon. B. H. Eaton, one of our small farmers on the Poudre, who learned irrigation in New Mexico; who raised nine thousand bushels of wheat this year; who has a ditch of his own about three times the size of the one under consideration, and who has probably constructed more ditches than any man in Colorado, gravely ventures to assert that he would risk the government powder in time of war at the lower end of the hundred-mile, twelve-foot ditch."

Here it may as well be stated that about seven years after this, the English Company has taken a ditch out of the Platte canon, and going over a part of the route of the one proposed by Stanton. The capacity of this ditch is 1,180 feet per second, and the company's engineer informed the writer that it was never able to get, during the last irrigation season (1889), more than 350 feet per second, and that it requires 100 cubic feet per second to reach the lower end of the canal, which is only about sixty miles long. There is no hope of this canal ever being able to get water enough to irrigate one-half the land under it except for a short time in some years of exceptionally heavy snowfall.

Now as to what the Platte and its tributaries can irrigate. In the last report of the state engineer he gives statements by the commissioners, of the different water districts of the irrigation division of the Platte, in regard to the crops actually irrigated during the year 1888, and it fell short of 700,000 acres. A few districts are not given, but I have credited them with figures proportionate to their size, as compared with the average of the districts reported. These reports of the commissioners, to my own knowledge, are too large in the districts which have come under my observation; and this is to be expected, for the data are taken from statements of the overseers of the different canals, who are anxious to make as big a showing for their ditches as possible. These estimates no doubt include lands on the bottoms, or "seeped" lands not directly irrigated. So it is to be doubted if we have exceeded to-day the half-million acres that thirteen years ago were placed as about the limit by the writer and by Mr. Clark. One element has entered into the calculation that we had no reason to suspect would come into existence, at least to the extent that it does, that is, the large quantity of water that returns into the streams lower down by percolation through the subsoil of the irrigated lands. This has materially increased the irrigable area, and this source of supply is continually, so far, increasing, but must soon reach its limit.

There was one other paper read at this convention, which we must not pass over. It was by Bishop Musser, of Utah. The statements in this paper proved both the position taken by Mr. Clark, that the Mormons had done nothing in irrigation that would be of material benefit to us to know, and also confirmed the views of Mr. Clark about the quantity of water needed for irrigating given areas. The Bishop gives statistics of some twenty-five of their largest ditches, and in it reveals the fact that nearly all their ditches are very small and that the average fall of these twenty-five was *twenty-three* feet to the mile. He also gives width and depth and fall of each ditch, with the land irrigated under it; and if the editor of *The News* had known enough to make the calculations from these data, he would have seen that Bishop Musser's statements were as damaging as J. Max. Clark's. Among other things it appeared that only about 200,000 acres were then under irrigation in Utah, and that the Bishop thought not more than that much more could be watered.

Well, the scheme to get the land of the government did not succeed, but nevertheless a company was formed about the beginning of 1874 for the purpose of taking out the big ditch from the Platte canon. *The Rocky Mountain News* gives it the following notice :

"We have before us some interesting facts regarding the proposed enterprise of the 'Colorado Canal, Irrigation and Land Company.' The length of the main canal will be three hundred and fifty miles, while the lesser ones or branches will be of such dimensions as necessity requires. It will be fifty feet wide and six feet deep, and will carry over 2,476,000,000 gallons daily—7,960 cubic feet per second. It will irrigate about nine and a quarter million acres of government land and from one million to a million and a half of railroad land. From observations taken at the Platte canon within the past two weeks, when the Platte is at its lowest stage, it has been ascertained that 1,140,000,000 gallons—3,665 cubic feet per second—per day, pass this point. During the irrigating season it is a well established fact that from three to five times that amount flows in the river. No existing vested rights will be interfered with, while the canal will not in the least diminish the supply of ditches now in operation. * * * It is wholly a private corporation; asks no government or territorial aid, and is independent entirely of the plan proposed by the Trans-Missouri Irrigation convention. *The News* hopes to see these lands brought under cultivation. It would prefer a state control of all irrigation companies, since in this country the ditch owners will control the land, and, consequently all large ditch companies should be controlled at some point by the people. But since the public proposes to be frightened by "jobs" we are glad to see private capital and private energy embark in the enterprise, and will give it our hearty support."

Now we would like to know by whom and by what means the Platte was gauged in the winter of 1874, giving a discharge of 3,665 feet per second? There was a gauging apparatus put into the Platte canon in 1886, and the discharge for the two following years is given in the state engineer's report. The highest rate in feet per second is given for June 21, and 22, 1888, and is 800; while the average for May, June and July of that year is less than 500 cubic feet per second. The record commenced in July, 1887, and the highest mark for that month was 660. In September, 1888, it was 100 feet per second. This is the difference between guessing and measuring. How much the canal would have carried if it had been constructed, we cannot estimate with precision, as we are not given the intended slope. But the other dimensions would make it but about one-third longer than the English Company's ditch, which we see only claims an appropriation of 1,180 feet per second, while this was supposed to have a capacity of 7,960, or seven times that of the High Line canal. Assuming that it would have had a capacity of 1,600 feet, it would have been capable of irrigating 105,600 acres at sixty-six acres per foot, or at the English Company's standard, fifty-five acres per foot, it would have irrigated 88,000 as against eleven and a half millions, or less than one-hundredth part. *The Greeley Tribune's* estimate was 60,000 acres, which was undoubtedly high enough, considering the length of the line. Indeed, it would have taken more than all the water that the English Company got at the plentiest time last year to run through this 350 mile ditch, as we see that in its experience 100 feet per second were required to run sixty miles.

It was doubtless information of this kind that led this company to build a ditch which it has at no time been able to half fill. But such days of deception are over. The appointment of a state engineer with instructions to gauge the streams, was the death blow to these wild speculations, and the land speculators opposed the legislation that secured this object with all their influence.

The Denver papers called the editor of *The Greeley Tribune* an amiable monomaniac on the subject, and the controversy which commenced during the next summer between Greeley and Fort Collins in regard to rights vested by virtue of prior appropriation, the Denver press took the side opposed to such vested rights. To this we shall return again; meantime we will conclude the controversy about the capacity of the streams north of the Divide in our next chapter.

# CHAPTER VIII.

IRRIGATION CONTINUED—PATRICK O'MEARA'S IRRIGATION IN NORTHEASTERN COLORADO—REVIEW OF THE SAME IN THE REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE LONDON INSTITUTION OF CIVIL ENGINEERS—CAPACITY OF STREAMS IN NORTHEASTERN COLORADO IN 1888—DEVICES FOR MEASURING WATER IN THE COLONY—DR. G. LAW, HARVEY TOWNSEND—J. MAX. CLARK'S TWO DEVICES; THE LAST A MODIFICATION OF SOLDATI'S ITALIAN MODULO—MEASUREMENT OF THE MAIN STREAMS BY E. S. NETTLETON—THIS GIVES MEANS OF DETERMINING CAPACITY, BUT STILL MEN EXAGGERATE THEIR CAPACITY—STATE ENGINEER'S REPORT FOR 1887 AND 1888 CRITICISED ALSO.

PATRICK O'Meara, an English engineer, had been employed by Carter-Cotton to survey and superintend the construction of the North Poudre Irrigation canal, a work commenced in 1880. Being of an inquiring turn of mind, he occupied himself, during the leisure afforded by his professional duties, with various experiments and speculations about the duty of water, the area irrigable in Northeastern Colorado, etc. Upon his return to England, in the spring of 1883, he read a paper on this subject before the "Institution of Civil Engineers, London." The proof of this paper was sent to E. S. Nettleton, state engineer, for review. This gentleman, being busy with other matters at the time, turned it over to the writer for comment. His review was published in the proceedings of the above named body in connection with O'Meara's paper, also the discussion which followed the reading of the paper by members of the institution, more than twenty engaging in it, and representing an experience gathered from nearly every country on the face of the globe, where irrigation was practiced. O'Meara had studied our water problem more exhaustively than had been done before; but reliable data were wanting, and he based his calculations of the area which could be irrigated from the assumed rain and snowfall on the mountain water shed, and from the depth to which the soil should be flooded to secure a crop. This latter he put at the ridiculously low figure of fifteen inches, including rainfall. From these data of calculation he concludes that with our present extravagantly low duty of water, we should be able to water north of the Divide 2,750,000 acres, but upon the basis of his duty of water, 9,750,000 acres. He admits the indefinite basis of his calculations, but criticises our wasteful practice of irrigation. In the discussion it was brought out that in most countries, with heavier rainfall than ours, there was quite as low a duty of water. However, it may be said that many of the suggestions of the writer of the paper were valuable, and have since been to some extent embodied into our practice. The points on which the writer of this history differs from the author of the paper under discussion are given in the review and it is here deemed advisable to quote from it the following:

"The first opinion of the author which he would criticise related to the mountain watershed of Northeastern Colorado. The area was given at about 3,500,000 acres. It was important to know at what altitude the author considered the mountain watershed to commence. This datum was not given, and was needed before his estimates could be submitted to mathematical verification. If he took it from the base of the foothills, say at an altitude of 5,500 feet, it would include a large area of scarcely more rainfall than the plains themselves. The heavy precipitation of moisture was confined to the upper parts of the range. The rainfall upon the summit was nearly an unknown quantity. There is only one point on it where measurements have been made, and that is at the signal service station on Pike's Peak. But this is on an outlying spur of the range and might materially differ from the average of the snowy range.

"In regard to the depth of 33.6 inches of rain imagined to fall yearly upon the hypothetical watershed, suppose both the area of land and the depth of rainfall not mere conjectures, but approximately true, what of that? It was not how much rain fell upon a particular watershed, but how much got into the river bed which drained it, that was of importance for the irrigator to know. The total fall was diminished by two irregular and indeterminable quantities. These were first evaporation, which increased as the thermometer rose and as the barometer fell, and which dispersed the greater part of the moisture precipitated, except in low polar districts. On the plains of Colorado evaporation dissipated all the rainfall except in rare cases of sudden precipitation. After the melting of the winter's snow, the depth of the moistened earth could be found as definitely as if irrigated after a six months' drought. It varied from six to twenty-four inches. This melted snow, together with the spring rains, was usually all evaporated by the first of June. Upon the southern slopes of the mountains and foothills, nearly all the snow was evaporated; leaving only that on the northern slopes, and more especially what had been blown by the winds into the gorges, to be melted by the warm summer weather, and to swell the mountain torrents that feed the streams.

"In the second place, of the waters left after evaporation how much finds its way into the underlying strata of the mountains and foot-hills? The surface of the ground might be compared to a sieve, with holes varying from the size of the smallest capillary duct to those large enough to swallow up a river. Through these pores and crevices the moisture on the surface was constantly escaping and falling, until it reached an impervious stratum. Over this it flowed, a broad subterranean river, the feeder of springs and the secret source of the waters of rivers hundreds of miles away. In the gravel beds underlying the plains of Colorado, there are constantly flowing such hidden rivers which might be tapped at depths varying from ten to two thousand feet. The upturned edges of the secondary and tertiary strata on the lower slopes of the mountains facilitate the entrance of the mountain waters to great depths among the strata of the plains below, while near the surface, in the gravel of each river valley, flows a broad, hidden stream fluctuating in level with its parent river. Colonel Baird Smith, in his work on Irrigation in Northern Italy, shows that this is the case in districts watered by the mountain streams of both the Alps and the Himalayas.

"After these two large, but uncertain and constantly varying sources of waste are taken into account, how could an estimation be made of the quantity of water reaching the channel of a river out of that which fell on its watershed? Clearly there were no sufficient data upon which to build even a rational conjecture. It commenced with the unknown, proceeded through the unknown to a conclusion which must be unreliable. There is a much simpler and wholly reliable method, namely, measuring the discharge of any particular stream during the year. If the estimates of a definite watershed were compared with this actual discharge, it would be a crucial test of their accuracy. Happily the author had furnished such a test of his estimates. He had given a diagram of the flow of water in the north fork of the Poudre for the year ending September 30, 1882. It would be seen that the average flow for nine months scarcely reached 4,000 cubic feet per minute, but he would assume it to be 5,000 per minute for nine months, and 12,000 for the remaining three months. This would give a total flow of 3,499,200,000 cubic feet during a year of twelve thirty-day months. Now, the author has estimated the watershed of this stream 250 square miles equal to 6,969,600,000 square feet, or about twice as many square feet as cubic feet, making the depth of the water which actually got into the bed of the river just a trifle over six inches. Hence, either his estimate of 33.6 inches was too great or else nine elevenths of the whole volume escaped into the ground and the air. Thus the available water, on the mountains overlooking the plains of Northeastern Colorado, might be set down as one-sixth of the estimate of the author. But only a fraction of the water which, during the year flowed into the river-bed, could be used in irrigation. If reservoirs were made for its storage during the nine or ten months when not used, a large part of this would escape through evaporation and absorption. A portion of that absorbed by the soil under the reservoirs, would again reach the streams, and might again be taken up and stored in reservoirs or used at the right season directly for irrigation. But at length a limit of saving would be reached; and a portion only, under the most perfect system, would reach the lands adjacent to the Poudre. Then there was always much waste of water in ditches, laterals, especially in dykes, before it could be applied to the land. In a volume of water of six cubic feet per second flowing in a lateral two miles in length, not less than one-tenth would be lost by soaking and evaporation. Hence, with the most perfect system of reservoirs, not more than one-half of the water which flowed in the channels of the rivers could be expected to reach the surface of the fields for irrigation. But could all, or even any considerable portion of the water now wasted in time of flood, and out of the season of irrigation, be economically stored in reservoirs? He is certain it could not. The author has acknowledged that shallow reservoirs are worse than useless. In the mountains a few places afforded facilities for the cheap construction of deep reservoirs. These would, no doubt, soon be made. But on the plains a reservoir twenty feet deep meant twenty feet loss of head. If the water to fill it was taken from the canal and run into it again, the canal must suddenly drop twenty feet or else the water of the reservoir be carried for a long distance at a less slope, which was great expense and involved loss by evaporation. Few canals are so located that they could bear many such drops, and hence these reservoirs as refeeders of canals were scarce. The one referred to by the author was favorably situated in this respect, because taken out far back in the foothills, commenced at a high level by a deep dam, and thence running high up on the table lands. Another kind of reservoir could be used to an extent limited by the nature of the surface under each particular canal. This was when a basin at a lower level than the canal could be filled from it, and used for the irrigation of lands below. All such natural basins were now being utilized where they afforded sufficient economical advantages.

"The next point where Mr. Boyd would join issue with the author, was his condemnation of the flooding system practiced in Colorado. In the cultivation of small grains, no preparation of the surface of the soil into small compartments was admissible. The harvesting must be done with a self-binder or header, and any parcelling off of the lands into small compartments would effectually interfere with the working of these machines. A permanent head ditch was made, and with a double mould-board plow twenty-four inches wide, ditches were excavated about one hundred feet apart, in the direction of the main slope. Six horses and two men with such a plow could furrow out one hundred acres in a day. The harvest was gathered in the same direction as the ditches ran; and if there were any cross-ditches they were plowed in before harvesting.

As to the duty of water the author had said, "Leaving therefore, the item (meadows) aside, and assuming fourteen inches as a fair allowance for cereals and potatoes, and twenty-five inches for Indian corn, it would appear that the general irrigation duty of water in Colorado ought not to exceed 15.4 inches including rainfall. Now in the first place, the small grains need at least twice as much water as corn or potatoes. These are cultivated in rows which facilitate the speedy passage of the water and of the two, Indian corn needs the lesser quantity, seldom wanting more than one irrigation. Again, the rainfall was so irregular that it could not enter much into the computation. Usually it was sufficient to start the young crop, and support the small grains until the first of June, and the cultivated crops to the first of July. The month of June was nearly always dry, and invariably hot. The problem to be solved by the farmer was how much land he could get over thoroughly with the water at his command, before the crop became so badly burned that an irrigation would not revive it. On level land, from which the moisture had evaporated, it would be found that in beds one hundred feet apart it was inexpedient to flood the land with less than from six to eight inches of water. This would penetrate the soil from twenty to thirty inches and would suffice, if there was no rain, about twenty days. Another irrigation, which would not require more than two-thirds as much water, would be all that was needed. Should the first watering be shallow, as it might be on steep land, or with narrow beds, and frequent dams in the furrows, the grain would begin to suffer in a few days and it would need another irrigation. An inch of water stored away in the soil twenty or twenty-four inches deep was worth three inches at or near the surface. It was slowly subjected to the influences that turned it into vapor, and mostly went through the plant, being evaporated from its leaves. This applied to ordinary upland, that had not become more or less saturated from the vicinity of reservoirs or ditches. Some soils imbibe water as freely as a sponge. It rose through them in the neighborhood of reservoirs sometimes to the height of ten feet above their surface. * * *

"In some respects the paper of Mr. O'Meara was a valuable contribution to the hydro-mechanics of Northern Colorado. When the author had experimented, he had done valuable service; but where he had speculated he had mostly missed the mark. Especially in the right direction were his measurements of the volume of the flow of the North Fork of the Poudre. The state engineer, E. S. Nettleton, was commencing a series of experiments looking to a determination of the flow of water in each of the natural streams of the state. A commencement had been made by putting a flume in the Poudre at a point above the head of all the ditches of importance. This would give a definite sectional area. The average velocity at this cross-section was determined at different stages of depths of the river, and recorded. These velocities were ascertained by an instrument resembling the anemometer. It registered the number of revolutions made by a vaned wheel moved by the water. How many of these revolutions corresponded to one hundred feet was determined by dragging the instrument through still water for that distance."

Here it may be said that the above means of gauging the streams has now been applied to nearly all the natural streams of the eastern slope, and dissipated the fog in which the whole question of water supply was, before its introduction, enveloped. It has demonstrated that the position taken by Greeley writers on this subject was correct, and that those who differed from them were in error by from ten to one hundred times. The greatest discharge of the Poudre was 5,600 feet June 28, 1884, while the mean discharge for that month was about 4,500. The greatest height reached the next year was 3,900, while the average for June of that year was about 3,000. In 1886 it reached only 2,700 feet per second and averaged for June about 2,000. In 1887 it was still lower, reaching at its greatest height only 2,400, and averaging for June about 1,900. The next year, the last reported records reach only 1,700 at greatest height, and averages for June only 1,100.

These gaugings reveal the fact that for the years where we can make a comparison, the Poudre surpasses in discharge the Platte at the respective canons of both. The gauging of the Platte only commenced about the middle of July of 1878, and for the rest of that month averaged about 580 feet, while the Poudre for the same period averaged about 800 feet. In June, 1888, the Platte reached at greatest height only 800 feet and averaged for that month about 600 feet against 1,700 and 1,100 feet respectively for the Poudre. The St. Vrain for its greatest height in June, 1888, gives only 480, and an average for that month of 300 feet. Boulder creek for same year gives an average for June of 250 and Big Thompson 500. So we see that for this scarce year the Poudre equaled during the month of June as high an average as the Platte, and its next biggest tributary, which in this year was the Big Thompson. On the other hand, we find that the Arkansas averaged for June of 1886, 1887 and 1888 respectively about 5,000, 3,500 and 2,000 feet. So for June, 1888, the Arkansas discharged about two-thirds as much as the Platte and all its tributaries, this being about 3,200 feet, of which the Poudre discharged about one-third. This proportion may not hold good for other years. Experiments have been made in the other streams for a much shorter time than on the Poudre, the ditch owners on this stream having taken a lead in this as in all other directions looking to a definite settlement of the water question.

We next naturally come to devices for measuring water to consumers from the main ditches, and here especially Union Colony has taken the lead. To settle this question was one of the sorest perplexities which vexed the colony board during the first year.

The first attempt in this direction was made by Dr. G. Law in the spring of 1872. He invented an automatic contrivance by which the same quantity of water could be delivered whatever the fluctuations of level in the main ditch. A walking beam was supported by posts attached to the sides of the delivery flume, one end of the beam being connected by a shaft to the gate, the other by a similar shaft to a float or boat in the flume. These shafts were so adjusted that a certain depth of water flowed over the weir at the tail of the flume, coming in from the ditch under the gate. When the water in the main ditch arose, and the consequent increased pressure sent more water into the flume, it raised the boat which raised the end of the beam attached to it, and lowered the end fixed to the gate, and with it the gate.

One of these contrivances was put into a flume of Number Three in the south part of town, and worked well. But it was not adopted by the board partly because it would have incurred a considerable expense which it was not prepared to meet, and partly because the question was not how to deliver a steady quantity at any given point, but rather to divide a fluctuating volume proportionately among the consumers.

Mr. Harvey Townsend next appeared as an inventor and pushed his scheme with so much persistent importunity that the board had him put his contrivance in all the flumes of Number Three. There had arisen a strong impression that a wide opening delivered a great deal more proportionately than a narrow one for the same depth. He constructed an aperture narrowing towards the bottom so that an inch at the bottom would not discharge more, according to his calculation, than one at the top. Say the aperture is ten inches deep and two wide at the top, it would then discharge twenty surface inches. This aperture constituted his unit of measure, and if more than this was to be taken out, a proportionate number of slots was put in the flume under the gate. It proved a nuisance, as many of us suspected; but he had got up a strong party in his favor and a majority of the board yielded to the clamor. It was torn out in less than a year, involving the loss of quite an expenditure.

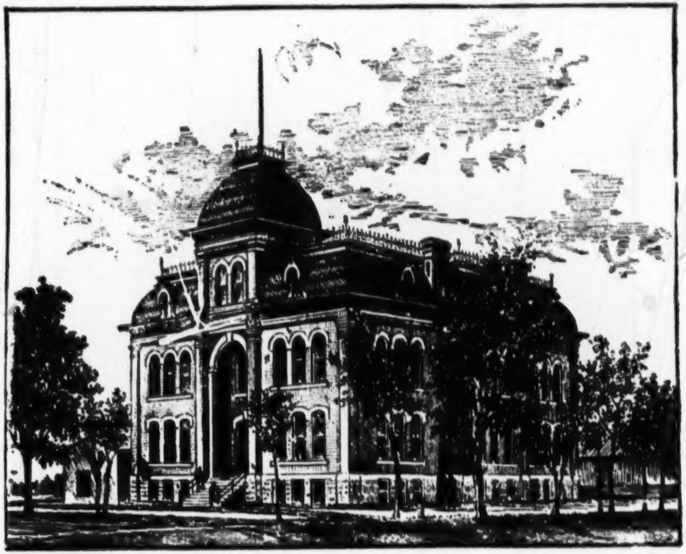
J. Max. Clark next appeared with a device for measuring the quantity of water passing through a flume, by means of a spring balance which measured the force it exerted in passing. This it was perceived would be inaccurate, as the force exerted by moving water was not equal to its volume multiplied by its velocity, but its volume multiplied by the square of its velocity. Hence the same quantity of water moving with a great velocity would exert a greater force than the same quantity at a less velocity, for the same reason that the same absolute quantity of water will turn more machinery if it fall through twenty feet than it would falling through ten feet. So this notion was abandoned by its inventor who, however, in no long time ran across the device used in Italy for measuring water. This was the modulo of an Italian engineer named Soldati, and had been used in that country more than two centuries. It consisted of a receiving aperture regulated by a gate next the canal, and a delivery aperture regulated by a side slide at the other end of the flume, the front gate being raised or lowered, as the case might be, so as to keep the water to the same level in the flume and fill the delivery aperture to the top. If less water was to be delivered, the delivery aperture was narrowed, but a uniform depth was maintained. This recognized the important principle that flow through apertures of different depths is in proportion to the square root of the depth. For instance, take two one-inch holes, the one four and the other nine inches from the surface, their discharges will be as two is to three.

The principle of the J. Max. Clark flume is the same as that of Soldati, but the material used in Italy for the construction is quite different to what we use here. There the flumes are of stone masonry and the gates of cast iron or lead. Here our limited means has hitherto compelled us to make them of wood.

Though this flume was the best that had been devised for measuring water up to that time, and though extensively adopted all over the states and territories where irrigation is carried on, the author believes that the weir adopted by E. S. Nettleton first for the English Company, and invented and tabulated by Francis, of Massachusetts, is more accurate. It, however, involves some additional expense and is not likely to come into general use. It is disconnected with the main canal and not influenced by its fluctuation, so far as affecting the velocity with which it reaches the measuring aperture is concerned. Tables constructed from experiments, made by its inventor, give the number of cubic feet per second passing at different widths and depths. Weirs of this kind are also adopted by the state engineer to measure the flow of canals taking water from the natural streams, and the number of cubic feet per second passing over each for different depths is tabulated by the state engineer for the use of the district water commissioners. The Poudre district was the first to get these weirs in as it was also the measuring device at the Poudre canon, and so we have a record for five years, while most of the districts in the division of the Platte have records for only one year. In all these matters the Union Colony canals took the lead as they have in nearly all affairs pertaining to advance in irrigation.

With data now before us from the actual measurement of the streams of Northern Colorado, one would be led to believe that the former exaggerated statements about the irrigating capacity of our streams would no longer appear. But this is far from the case. Even from so unexpected a source as the state engineer's report for 1887-1888, we get the following:

"Let it be considered in connection with the areas east of the Continental Divide, and with the precipitation therefor, that the limit of remunerative farming without irrigation, is drawn at an annual precipitation of twenty-two inches; that the quantity of water passing through the canon of the Cache la Poudre river, as measured by this department in the year 1884, was equivalent to a precipitation of 13.367 inches over the entire watershed of that stream above its canon; that the total precipitation over that watershed, though not exactly known for that year, was about 33.4 inches; that about forty per centum, then, of the snow and rainfall over the watershed of the Cache la Poudre river above the canon, flowed through the canon of that stream, and was available for irrigation direct or storage for irrigation; that the application of this deduction to the precipitation over



WELD COUNTY COURT HOUSE.

the entire area of the mountain lands east of the Continental Divide would indicate that about forty per centum of the mean annual precipitation over that area would be the proportion available for supplementing the rain and snowfall on the irrigable lands east of the Divide, and that this would, if it could all be utilized and evenly distributed, afford, with the rainfall, an annual depth of water of twenty-seven inches of 10,200,000 acres of plains and valley lands."

Now, with the discharge at the canon of the Poudre before him for five years, why did our state engineer choose the one having the greatest measurement? The record for that year, 1884, begins with May and ends with October, giving the six months of maximum discharge. As will be seen there is a steady fall in the average discharge until the last year. If we take the average discharge for the four irrigation months of May, June, July and August, we will find that it was about 2,500 cubic feet per second, for 1884, while for the corresponding months of 1888 it was only about 500 feet. Why not take this latter year as a basis of calculation rather than the former? Are people not more interested in knowing what are the capabilities of our streams in years of least supply rather than in great flood years? This basis being adopted, will reduce the ten milions of acres to two millions, and with no reservoirs to save the flow of nine months, it will reduce the two millions to one, which is the very most that can be depended upon in such a year as 1888. We had, according to an undoubted over-estimate, about 700,000 acres irrigated in this year north of the Divide, but it is well known that nearly half the crops perished for want of water, and that all had too scant a supply, reducing the average of wheat to about twelve bushels, while last year, 1889, when we had a full supply, it will average thirty bushels. Then it is well known that a great portion of the eastern slope is so situated that the precipitation on it cannot reach it, as it does the Poudre. This is true of that portion lying between the South Platte canon and the Arkansas, from the center portion of which scarcely any water reaches the plains. Why, then, will men take this vague hypothetical basis of precipitation on the eastern watershed as a datum for computing how much we can irrigate, when they have before them the actual discharge? It is to satisfy this craving for largeness so congenial to the average mind. Nearly all men prefer the large, vague illusions to the measured, well-determined, actual fact; and it appears to me this was an attempt on the part of the state engineer to satisfy this tendency on the part of the people of the Centennial state to lay it down large.

The author is sorry to see that our senator, James W. McCreery, in a speech made in the State Senate, at its last session, and in support of a bill which we shall mention farther on, should have been led to use the following language:

"About one-third of the whole area of the state of Colorado can be cultivated land, provided only that it has a sufficient supply of moisture to make cultivation profitable. This area exceeds that of the state of Illinois, one of the wealthiest states in the Union, in agricultural development, and all that is required to make Colorado prominent as an agricultural state, is the effective distribution and application of the waters of the state over the lands. * * * The precipitation, if properly controlled, directed and utilized, is sufficient to supply the larger cultivable area of the state. * * * Add to this the diversity of views as to the duty of water, that is to say the quantity of water required for a given area of land, which has never been agreed upon in practice, or settled by law. Different varieties of soil, different conditions of cultivation, of course, enter the problem of determining the duty of water. But it is now the almost unanimous opinion of those best qualified to judge of this matter that the duty of water has been underestimated generally. * * * * It is a common remark in the northern part of the state that a scarcity of water during the irrigation season of 1888 has demonstrated the fact that the duty of a given quantity of water is very much greater than had been before supposed."

The reader of the preceding part of this work has been led over much of the ground covered by the above assumptions, and has our reasons for not accepting them. But there are a few statements here made that need especial reviewing. The senator says in substance, that it is the general opinion of those best qualified to judge, that the duty of water has been under-estimated. Who are those best qualified to judge? Are they the men who have been handling water and actually irrigating the soil, or are they the men who have been looking on, or driving along the roads, and who if they see a puddle of water in the road, coming from some steep hill-side that is being irrigated, are prone to cry out, "See what waste. How much land could be irrigated from this waste!" The writer has handled water for twenty years. What he is now using costs him $1,200 per eighty-acre water right for first investment. To this is added the construction of laterals, some three miles from main canal, the superintendence and repairing of these laterals, the proportionate expense of the superintendence on main canal. The interest on investment at ten per cent. and the additional expenditures amount to about $160 per eighty acres to get the water yearly to eighty acres of land. This is a rental of two dollars per acre. A man must be imprudent, indeed, if he does not use what costs so much in the most economical manner possible. In addition to his experience, the writer has read much on the subject, and has also observed what his neighbors are doing. Now he finds that he is doing well if he can irrigate eighty acres per water right, which is 1.44 cubic feet per second, or a duty of fifty-five acres per cubic foot per second. His land lies the best possible for irrigation, it has a compact clay subsoil, and he has it put into such a variety of crops as enable him to use the water somewhere during the whole irrigation season. Moreover he has more land than he has water rights for, but dares not put any more into crop, depending upon a surplus to irrigate such larger area than the rights actually cover. It is true that if we had a full head for four months, and there was the requisite variety of crops cultivated to allow the continuous use of water for this period, one cubic foot of water on such land as I have described would irrigate perhaps one hundred acres. But in no year can any large canal, coming from any stream in Northern Colorado, expect to run full for more than two months. Even in 1884, the highest year since the Poudre has had a record of its discharge from the canon, the average for August was only 800 feet per second. Indeed, the period when there is anything like a full supply for all the ditches is about two months, commencing with May 20th. So all the land you can irrigate is practically confined to these sixty days. In some years like that of 1888 it is much shorter, and more so as the canal is later in its appropriation. As before said, the English Company's canal, taken out above the Platte canon, has never been able to get water enough to half fill it. The Larimer and Weld, from which the writer gets water, could run full in 1888 so that we could get full rights but a about a week, and in 1889, a much better year, not more than three weeks. During these three weeks three times as much water was run as during the rest of the season. As the company—and all other companies are like it in this respect—agrees to furnish the full quantity contracted for only when there is enough of water appropriated by it in the river to fill the canal, and pro rata at lower stages, the average quantity furnished during the irrigation season is the true basis for the computation for the duty of water for any year. In such a year as 1888, this quantity for four months would not have been more than one-quarter of the 1.44 cubic feet per second per eighty-acre water right. So while this gives a nominal duty of water at fifty-five acres, it really gives a duty of four times that or 220 acres per cubic foot for a run of four months. But were any such high results realized? This was simply starvation irrigation. Practically neither corn nor potatoes had any irrigation and were failures.

The wheat crop had only one light irrigation and was on an average only one-third of the crop of the following year. The same was true of all other small grains, and alfalfa was not more than half the crop in 1888 that it was in 1889. The results would have been even worse in this scarce season but for the stored-up moisture of former years of heavy irrigation. If we were to continue this course of starvation irrigation for a few years, we would not do much better than they do in the "rain belt," while we have the added expense of two dollars per acre for the expenses and investment in canals. These expenses and the present price of produce forbid any sane man from investing in canals which can only afford a sufficiency of water to thoroughly irrigate the lands under it one year in five, as must be the case with late canals if all the water they can carry with a full river is sold. The English Company has been honorable enough to stop selling water which their canals could carry, but which is not usually in the river to fill them. How insane then to build additional canals to these already quarter supplied later ones! But we fear our senator has been getting his figures not from well digested facts, but from the above speculations of our late engineer, who ought to know better, but who seems disposed to flatter our state vanity. Then it is known that some think Yankees are so smart that they can make a less quantity of water grow crops than has ever been used elsewhere. In fact Senator Teller made a statement to that effect, in reply to J. Max. Clark's figures based on Italian irrigation experience; and now I suppose he is about to demonstrate it, since he is building a very expensive, large canal, taking water from the Arkansas. Well, if he can teach us how to make one drop of water do the work of two, he will confer on the people of Colorado a greater benefit than will all the measures he has carried through the United States Senate in its favor. But in fine, the writer hopes that our own senator will hereafter not indulge in predictions of quite so wide a spread for our water, and understand that the farmers, who are his constituents, prefer a rational statement of facts, to buncombe. Maybe he thinks with P. T. Barnum that "The American people like to be humbugged, and he likes to do it."

To our old friend, General Cameron, we owe another piece of information on this subject of the agricultural area of Colorado. He has sent the writer a speech made at Fort Worth by the Hon. H. B. Chamberlin, president of the Denver Chamber of Commerce, on the subject of "Building a City." As this is the freshest information on the subject of the extent of our available agricultural land—being delivered last November—it is of importance to record it before our work goes through the press:

"You will form no adequate conception of the growth of Denver without some knowledge of the resources of the state. I speak with becoming modesty before a Texas audience, whose area is an empire, whose merchants are princes, and whose financial men are kings of finance. With modesty I state that the area of Colorado is 66,000,000 acres, consisting of 34,000,000 acres of timber and mineral lands, and 32,000,000 acres of arable lands. You will note I speak of arable lands—not sterile. The common opinion that the bulk of Colorado lands is sterile has been dissipated, as water for irrigation has been furnished to it and the desert has been made to blossom as the rose. Quite 2,000,000 acres of it are under cultivation by irrigation. Its crops are 33⅓ to 50 per cent. greater than the average of any state not using irrigation. It is expected the entire 32,000,000 area will, some time, be cultivated by irrigation from water stored in the mountains. I call your attention to the fact that the area of Colorado is equal to that of England, Ireland, and Wales, and venture to assert that, inside of fifty years, we will support a population equal to that of those countries—30,000,000 people."

Now there are no 2,000,000 acres actually under irrigation. There may be ditches projected to cover that area or more. But granting that there were 2,000,000 acres, how is he to increase that area sixteenfold by storing water in the mountains? Seven hundred thousand acres are all that are claimed under irrigation north of the Divide, and all the water during the four months of irrigation in the last two years, except for a few days of flood water, was used in the Platte and its tributaries by the ditches. The quantity of water running in the Platte and its tributaries, during the eight months when irrigation is not carried on, is quite insignificant. Records are not kept of the flow of the streams during the winter, but it is less than in either the spring or fall; and before May and after August the flow of the Poudre, which may be taken as an example for all, tapers down from an average of four hundred feet to about one hundred feet as it touches the winter months. It is doubtful if it flows one hundred feet per second for these eight months on an average. Hence all these months would discharge less than half what is now used in irrigation in the month of June. Any one who has been up our streams into the mountains in the winter knows that there is no water worth mentioning flowing there that could be stored, and that if winter storing is to be done at all, it must be principally upon the plains. In fine, it may be said that not one-fourth the water for the last two years has run to waste in the Poudre, or the Platte and its tributaries, of that which has been used in irrigation, and that one-half of this fourth would be wasted if stored in reservoirs before it could be used on the land; and above all, the whole of what can be stored of an ordinary year is needed to complete the supply during the shortage of the irrigation season, without thinking of using it on new areas. This applies to the Platte and all its tributaries. This late reservoir " craze " will soon subside, and it can be demonstrated that it has not in it one-hundreth part of what the statement of the president of the Denver Chamber of Commerce makes it. If the prospects of the continued growth of Denver depend upon the growth of agriculture to the extent Mr. Chamberlin indicates, then the "Queen City of the Plains" is extending her suburbs under the stimulus of a grand illusion, and her collapse in the near future will be even more disastrous than it was after her period of " booming," based on the prospective immigration of 1872. It is to be feared that should Mr. Chamberlin undertake to put his reservoir speculations into practice he will not find the "millions in it" that he has in real estate speculations around Denver. But if Colorado attains to 30,000,000 of population within fifty years, then we may expect the prediction of N. C. Meeker to be fulfilled, that Greeley would have a population of 100,000 before some of the children then born should have passed away. If this growth depends upon agricultural development, our town should grow at least in proportion to the rest of the state, and as that will have to increase sixty-fold we ought to have 180,000 fifty years hence.

# CHAPTER IX.

IRRIGATION LEGISLATION—DOCTRINE OF PRIORITY OF RIGHTS BEFORE ADOPTING OF STATE CONSTITUTION—DIFFICULTY OF ENFORCING THIS RIGHT—COMPLICATIONS WITH FORT COLLINS—MEETING AT HALF-WAY SCHOOL HOUSE—STATE CONSTITUTION ON PRIORITY—CALL FOR A CONVENTION TO MEET AT DENVER TO FORMULATE A SYSTEM OF IRRIGATION LEGISLATION—HOSTILITY OF THE OLD SETTLERS—OF THE BAR OF THE STATE, RHODES, DAVID BARNES—TWO VIEWS IN THE CONVENTION AS TO WHAT CONSTITUTES APPROPRIATION, DITCHES OR LANDS—COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO DRAFT BILL—CONTENTS OF THIS BILL—CARRIED THROUGH THE LEGISLATURE WITH EXCEPTION OF STATE ENGINEER CLAUSE—H. N. HAYNES APPOINTED REFEREE FOR THIRD DISTRICT—HIS FITNESS—DIFFICULTY OF GETTING PROOF—LARGE APPROPRIATIONS CLAIMED BEFORE SETTLEMENT OF COLONY—CLAUSES RENDERING THESE EXCESSIVE CLAIMS HARMLESS—OTHER DISTRICTS WORSE THAN OURS IN THIS RESPECT—THE LAW A BLESSING—DISTRICTS WITHOUT DECREES PETITION THE GOVERNOR TO APPOINT COMMISSIONERS IN 1880.

WE shall next review Irrigation legislation in Colorado and from this, too, it will be seen how far in advance Greeley men were of the other irrigators of the state.

When the colony came here the interpretation of the laws was in favor of priority of appropriation giving priority of right to the use of water. But the laws were loose and indefinite on the subject, and if rights of this kind were to be enforced, it must be in the courts. As there was but an insignificant quantity of water taken out of the Poudre when the colony came here, the question was not at first a pressing one, and our claim seemed to be the very best. But in no long time the success of our application of water to the higher tablelands demonstrated their great agricultural value, and other ditches were soon taken out above ours.

The first enterprise of this kind of any extent, was the Lake Company's canal, taken out by B. H. Eaton and J. C. Abbott. In the spring of 1873 this was followed by the formation of the Agricultural Colony located at Fort Collins. This enterprise was projected by four of our colonists, B. H. Eaton, R. A. Cameron, John C. Abbott and J. L. Brush in connection with parties living at or near the above named town.

The ditches of the company were not in a condition to disturb our supply until the summer of 1874, which was also one of scarcity. Before our crops were made, the river was dry at the head of Number Three, and there appeared to be great danger that the trees, small fruits, and lawns of our town would be ruined. There was first skirmishing between the newspapers, which finally led to a convention of ditch owners on the Poudre, being called at the Eaton school house, near where Windsor now is. About forty delegates were present. General Cameron and B. H. Eaton were there, and were conciliatory in their attitude. Their proposition was to appoint some disinterested person for that year to divide the water according to the greatest needs for the present year, disregarding priority. The question took a wide range in discussion, and the Collins parties were told that if their policy of the ditches highest up stream taking what they wanted was the one to be pursued, then we would go above them, and there would result an interminable and exhaustive race in which the greatest numbers and the largest purses would come out the winners. The writer was willing to accept, for that season, the proposal of General Cameron, because he saw that nothing could be done in the courts that year to relieve the present pinch. Most of the Greeley delegates differed from him, but might have been made to yield but for the defiant attitude of those up stream. At length patience seemed to him to cease being a virtue, and he hurled back defiance in hot and unseemly language. They would not hear to moderation and justice. Force must meet force. We outnumbered them, and many of us had seen as rough service some ten years ago as we were likely to experience in an encounter with these water thieves, etc. Then some one arose and moved an immediate adjournment. Every man to his tent, to his rifle and cartridges. But gradually voices of conciliation were heard above the storm, Meeker's, Cameron's, and even J. Max. Clark's. It was finally agreed that they would let us down some water to save the most valuable things in Greeley. A promise they did not keep nor mean to keep. They were too intent on running the water out on the cactus plain in order to boom the "Agricultural Colony," which was to be our great rival. A general rainstorm came in about a week afterwards and saved us; but from this day forth we had set our hearts on having some regulations looking towards a distribution of the waters of the state in harmony with the principle of priority of appropriation. But nothing of any importance was reached by the legislature of either 1875 or 1877. A bill had been passed to enable counties to take out ditches and tax parties benefited. But nothing was ever done in this line.

Meantime the constitution had been adopted defining priorities, and the difficulties that Greeley felt were beginning to be felt by other early settlements. Fort Collins also saw other large ditches projected above her own, and was now willing to join hands with us. The condition of affairs on the St. Vrain was becoming as critical as our own. So there was a general call for a convention of delegates representing the different ditches, to meet in Denver during the last days of December, 1878, to formulate some scheme of irrigation legislation.

Many of the old irrigation districts paid no attention to the call, believing that no legislation was needed. Some came, however, to oppose. Boulder, St. Vrain and the Poudre were there in force. L. C. Mead, of Highland Lake, who had just been elected to the house for the coming term of the legislature, was elected chairman. Some who first got the floor were opposed to any legislation. Prominent among these was Mr. Rhodes, who had just been elected senator from Larimer county. He said that laws regulating this matter would be too expensive, that the courts could decide questions as they arose more cheaply and satisfactorily. He said that farmers were a set of fools, and did not understand their own interests. At this point he was called to order for using disrespectful language to the body he was addressing. The point was sustained and the senator took his hat and left, vowing vengeance against the party favoring legislation, a vow he kept to the best of his ability during the following session. Finally, a committee on order of business was appointed by the chair, and the writer was its chairman. On it, too, was David Barnes violently opposed to all legislation. We had not met before, but he was known to all Greeley men by reputation. He was a fifty-niner. In his gray hair he stood erect as a palm tree, over six feet high, spare of flesh, but probably weighing two hundred pounds—splendid specimen of well-preserved physical vigor. He undertook to bully the committee and force down our throats his opinion that no legislation on the water question was advisable. The chair told him that we had met to do business, and that if he had any resolution to offer, or motion to make, it would be entertained; but if not, he was out of order, and would have to take his seat, and in case he did not do so an officer would be called. This brought him down. He offered nothing. An order of business was then prepared recommending various points of desirable legislation which should be considered by the convention to be brought to the notice of the coming legislature. He and Mr. Harriman, of Bear creek, brought in a minority report recommending that there be no legislation. The majority report was discussed at length and brought out the views of the different interests, and was finally adopted in spite of the "moss-backs." The delegates from Greeley were B. S. LaGrange, Joseph Moore, J. D. Buckley, J. Max. Clark and David Boyd. Our men had thoroughly studied the question before and were able to defend their position at every point. Admirable temper was maintained; the violently opposed had left, and those who had come without giving the subject attention were mostly brought over. But among those favoring legislation two opposite opinions prevailed as regards what constitutes priority of appropriation. One party contended that the construction of a ditch entitled its owners to the use of water for all the lands it could irrigate, and that the appropriation dated from the time work was commenced in good faith and afterwards prosecuted with diligence. The other party, headed by an able advocate, I. L. Bond, of Boulder, maintained that only an actual application to the land worked an appropriation, and that it was not only necessary in order to have a just distribution of water to know the order of the priority of the respective ditches, but also the order of application to the different parcels of land under each ditch. It was contended by the former party that however desirable such a distribution and the record on which it was based might be, it was scarcely attainable, and that we must only undertake what to a sound judgment seemed practicable. Another important point brought out by Dr. Bond was the protection of parties who were yearly renting water from ditch companies. This was one that had not presented itself to the farmers on the Poudre, as they were the owners of the ditches that irrigated their lands.

These points and many more were discussed, but no definite conclusion reached farther than the appointment by the chair of a committee of five to meet immediately in Denver, and draft the outline of a bill for an irrigation law to be submitted to the legislature.

The committee consisted of David Boyd, chairman; J. S. Stanger, editor of *The Colorado Farmer*; Daniel Witter, of Boulder; John C. Abbott, of Fort Collins, and I. L. Bond, of Boulder. It spent a week in the preparation of the draft of this bill, which embraced the following points:

First. Dividing the state into water districts corresponding with the regions irrigable from certain natural streams. Eight of these districts were named, all parts of the Platte or its tributaries. No other parts of the state had expressed any desire to have any system of distribution, but provision was made to add such other districts as should apply.

Second. A water commissioner was to be appointed by the governor for each district, whose duty it would be to divide the water from the natural streams according to priority as established by a record provided for.

Third. A plan for the securing of a record of priorities. This was the most difficult problem the committee had to encounter and was impeded at every step by the opposing views of Dr. Bond, who wanted it based upon application to each parcel of land. The rest of the committee held to the other view; but such was the ability and persistence with which he advocated his position that a sort of compromise was made, illogical as all compromises are.

Fourth. A provision that where a piece of land had once been allowed the use of water by a company selling water, it should never be deprived of that use provided its owner paid the rent, which was to be fixed in case of dispute in all cases by the county commissioners.

Fifth. It drafted regulations for the construction of reservoirs which were substantially the law as it now stands on the subject.

Sixth. It provided for a state engineer and gauging the streams.

The bill as thus sketched was put into the hands of L. C. Mead, and we were fortunate in having in the house on the committee on irrigation, Judge Brownell. This gentleman, unlike most of those at the bar or on the bench in Colorado, was strongly impressed with the necessity of legislation on this subject. He spent night and day every spare hour he had upon this bill, and especially deserves credit for formulating a procedure by which a record could be obtained of the priorities in the different districts. This was the only radical change made in what the committee submitted, and was in my opinion a great improvement, though viewed quite differently by some of the committee. We also had then J. L. Brush in the house and Judge S. B. A. Haynes in the senate, both of whom worked well for the bill and got it passed, except state engineer clause.

The Poudre district was the first to move in the matter of having a referee appointed, and that at the instigation of the Greeley irrigation corporations. This was accomplished in the fall of 1879 and we were fortunate in having for that referee H. N. Haynes, the son of Judge Haynes, of Greeley. Mr. Haynes, in addition to being a careful and painstaking student of law, was also a ripe scholar for one of his age, being a graduate, before commencing the study of law, of Colby University, Maine. It needed a man of scientific and especially mathematical attainments as well as legal knowledge, to understand and get into proper form the evidence on this subject, and these Mr. Haynes had, and it enabled him to prepare a record such as no other district secured.

To give one instance of the difficulty of determining the questions that came before the referee, the law provided wisely that the quantity of water appropriated should be given in cubic feet per second. Now, in most instances, the owners of ditches had no idea of what cubic feet per second meant, and could only furnish the data for computing these, namely, the sectional area and the slope. What these elements were, *now* could be determined by sending an engineer on the ground; but what the sectional area was at time of first construction could only be got at by interested witnesses. In many cases, from these data, the referee had to compute cubic feet per second from complex algebraic formulæ. What sad work was made of this in the Boulder district we know, since the appropriations were stated in customary inches, and not in cubic feet per second, and are next to useless for the guidance of the district commissioner.

It was seen by the people of Greeley and the colony that it would be a most difficult affair to get at the size of the early ditches, and that the longer it was put off the harder it would be to get at the truth. Nearly all the ditches on the Poudre, at the time the colony located in this valley, were mere plow furrows which had been gradually enlarged as the needs of the parties required. Not even the parties themselves knew when these different enlargements had been made, much less what was their extent; and knowing human nature, we might be sure that in giving in evidence for themselves, most men would give themselves the benefit of the doubt. It was seen that only the present size of ditches could be ascertained with any degree of accuracy. But in order to prevent too extravagant demands, the different interests in and around Greeley employed the writer and also Mr. Dunning, as attorney, to cross-examine witnesses and gather such other information or data as might confine excessive claims within reasonable limits.

This was found to be a most difficult task. It was found impossible to get rebutting testimony in cases where evidently extravagant statements were made on oath, the neighbors of the party declaring that they had no definite ideas as to size or even dates of construction and enlargements. Even the present size of ditches was grossly overstated, and the local engineers appeared to be in collusion with the old settlers.

It was the custom of the writer to examine in person each ditch on the upper section of the river, and take a section of it, and it was required that the party proving his claims should have an engineer to take and testify as to its slope. But in spite of all these precautions and the cross-examinations of witnesses, it was put in evidence that there had been appropriated from the Poudre river at the date when Union Colony's canal, Number Three, was commenced April 1, 1870, six hundred and ninety-two cubic feet per second, or a quantity of water which, at a duty of sixty acres per cubic foot, would have watered 41,520 acres, nearly half what is irrigated to-day. But how much land was in crops in the Poudre valley in the summer of 1870? I have consulted Governor Eaton on this subject, and after a careful computation, he says about a thousand acres. He was farming about the middle of the valley that summer, and knew of every patch between Fort Collins and the mouth of the Poudre. Now it will be seen that the quantity claimed and awarded these early ditches, is more than forty times what they were actually using. To be sure the ditches were in many cases larger than the land actually in cultivation needed—were built for a prospective cultivation of larger areas. But their size could not have been greatly in excess of their needs, and could not have nearly equaled an aggregate size sufficient for the irrigation of the lands under them. This is demonstrated by the fact that all of them had been enlarged more or less, and some of them to several times their capacity in 1870, between that date and the time of taking the testimony—ten years afterwards. The total claims along the river bottom, which these ditches could have watered, could not have averaged more than half a mile wide, which, estimated at thirty miles long, would give fifteen square miles or 9,200 acres, and the greater part of this was low, swampy land, and meadow land not needing irrigation. There were only twenty-three ditches in existence when our Number Three was taken out, and if we take from these four then insignificant ditches, which since then have been enlarged and extended, namely—Pleasant Valley canal, Larimer and Weld, Fort Collins ditch and "New Mercer," there remain nineteen. Now from the state engineer's report for 1888, we find that the total area of crops irrigated under these nineteen ditches in that year was only 5,660 acres. Moreover the quantity of water claimed by the four ditches left out of the calculation at the date of the construction of Union Colony Number Three, was only forty-two cubic feet per second. The area irrigated by the ten largest and virtually latest constructed was for the same years about 100,000 acres. Moreover, it is well known that many of these small older ditches would not carry half the water claimed in the decree when they were gauged by the state engineer in 1885, although they had nearly all been enlarged, and some of them several times, between the date of the decree, and this gauging. As instances of the excessive quantity of water awarded ditches under the decree, compared with the crops cultivated under them, we may take the Boyd and Freeman ditch which has 99.38 cubic feet awarded it in 1873, while the crops under it in 1888, said to be irrigated, were 320 acres, which is, I believe, all the land under the ditch owned by its proprietors. This would be a duty of less than four acres to the cubic foot per second. Again we may take the B. H. Eaton ditch, which was awarded for 1872 forty-one cubic feet per second, and had in irrigated crops, 1888, 330 acres, or a duty of eight acres per cubic foot per second. The John Coy ditch is credited with thirty-one feet and irrigated in same years 160 acres, or has a duty of about five acres per foot. So it is pretty much through the end of the list, and so much for the value of interested human testimony.

Of course this exorbitant claim of nearly 700 cubic feet per second, before the colony ditches can get any, would be ruinous, could these parties demand all this water. But the provision in the decree that a party can only get water for beneficial use, renders this excessive previous appropriation comparatively harmless.

Again, these small older ditches are pretty well up stream for the most part, and are all on the first bottom, so that excessive irrigation from them gets back again into the river and can be used over again by the ditches lower down. It may be farther said that during the year 1888 there were only twenty-six days when the discharge of the Poudre was more than 700 cubic feet per second.

But bad as this was in our district, it was still worse in the St. Vrain. Here the claims of the old settlers seem to have been allowed to run riot. Up to the first day of April, 1879, 808.58 feet were awarded, while the greatest discharge of that stream for 1888 was less than 500 feet per second, while the average for June of that year was, as we have seen, only 300 feet. But the Boulder district is still worse, since, for April first, 1870, there were claimed 2,234 feet. This district has since been divided, but the combined average of both streams for June, 1888, was only 430 feet. The total quantity claimed by this Boulder district before division was 4,842 feet, for the Poudre, 4,632, and for St. Vrain, 2,854.

We will conclude this part of the subject before us with the following apposite quotation from the report of Elwood Mead, assistant state engineer for 1886:

"In district number six I was able to gauge twelve out of fifty recorded ditches of Boulder and South Boulder creeks. While gauging the canals of this district, my attention was very forcibly called to a matter to which it seems proper to refer. This is the wide discrepancy which often exists between the decreed and actual carrying capacity of ditches and canals. So great was this in some instances, that the results of the gaugings and the decreed capacity seemed to have no connection with each other. Ditches were met with having decreed capacities of two, three and even five times the volume they are capable of carrying, ever have carried, or will probably ever need. Other ditches in the same district have decrees which fairly represent their actual needs. * * *

"The majority of the decrees of small ditches are based on the testimony of men having no engineering training or experience, and however honest the estimate may have been, it is in the majority of cases, a mistaken one, being almost universally too large. The remedy would seem to be to permit no decrees to be rendered until the state had been represented, and an estimate of the capacity of the ditch made by some competent and disinterested engineer, either the state engineer or some one selected by him."

It may be added that in conversation with the gentleman above quoted, the author was informed that although our district was the least faulty in this respect, and especially so in regard to the recent larger ditches, still plenty of cases could be found among the smaller ones nearly as bad as those reported above.

Still, however imperfect these decrees, the law as a whole has proved a great blessing, because it put the distribution of water into the hands of one man, and so prevented the bloodshed that would have been inevitable had things remained much longer as they were.

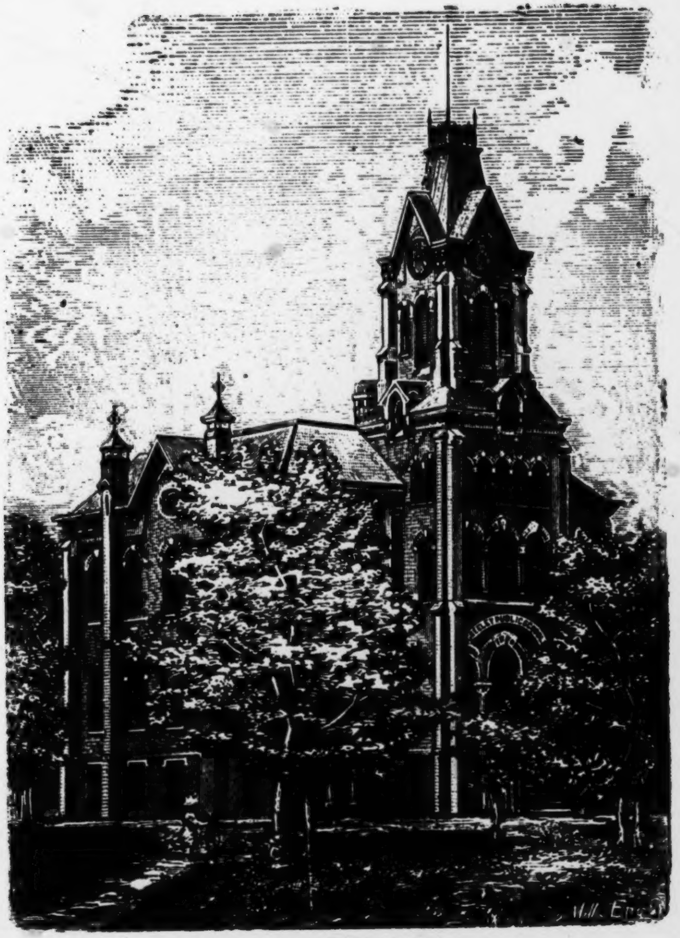
This is strikingly illustrated by what happened next summer. All the districts except ours had been remiss in prosecuting the matter of getting a referee appointed, and bringing the evidence before him. The spring of 1880 was one of the driest and windiest in our experience, and water was scarce during the early part of the summer. So a number of these districts that had been so remiss and indifferent, now awoke to the importance of having some better way than every man help himself and the devil take the "down streamer." So the governor was petitioned to appoint commissioners for these districts to go on and divide according to the best of their respective judgments and the equity in each case.

# CHAPTER X.

IRRIGATION LEGISLATION CONTINUED—DISTRICT NUMBER THREE MOVES THE DISTRICT COURT FOR A DECREE—REFUSED ON THE GROUND OF THE UNCONSTITUTIONALITY OF THE LAW—ARTICLE QUOTED FROM "TRIBUNE" ON THIS ACTION OF THE COURT—COUNSEL ENGAGED BOTH IN GREELEY AND DENVER TO CONTEST THIS REPORTED DECISION OF THE DISTRICT COURT—THE COURT AGREES TO HEAR ARGUMENT ON THE CASE, AND DECIDES TO ISSUE RULES—DENVER COUNSEL ADVISE REJECTION OF THE RULES AND TO SUE FOR WRIT OF MANDAMUS IN SUPREME COURT—THIS ADVICE FOLLOWED AND HUGHES AND BROMWELL VOLUNTEER TO DEFEND THE COURT AGAINST GREELEY PARTIES—THE WRIT NOT GRANTED—DISCUSSION OF JUDGE ELLIOTT'S ACTION IN THIS MATTER—HIS RULES NEVER USED—NEW LEGISLATION IN 1881 SUPERSEDES HIS RULES—VALUE OF THE LAW—E. S. NETTLETON'S OPINION OF ITS VALUE—VIEWS OF COMMISSIONERS FROM AUSTRALIA—WILLIAM HAM HALL, STATE ENGINEER OF CALIFORNIA, ON OUR IRRIGATION LAWS—NEW LEGISLATION NEEDED—SENATOR M'CREERY'S BILL FOR CODIFICATION, ETC.—COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED FOR THIS WORK.

MEANTIME District Number Three had its evidence ready for the action of the court in April, and attorneys were employed by the Greeley people to move the court to issue a decree. Our attorneys were met by Messrs. Butler and Rhodes, who claimed to act for the Larimer and Weld County Canal (English Company's), and the result was that the court refused to render a decree, and our attorney reported to the writer that the court considered the irrigation law *unconstitutional*. The reader will pardon the writer for here quoting his article in *The Greeley Tribune* of April 21, 1880, on this matter, because it presents the whole subject in the light of that critical hour better than he could do to-day:

"So Judge Elliott has decided that the irrigation law is unconstitutional. No doubt he is conscientious in this opinion. But it is the opinion, nevertheless, of a narrow-minded, conservative lawyer, who fears to proceed upon any ground not covered by a precedent. It will doubtless greatly delight all that class of lawyers who had been looking ahead to endless fat jobs about to come to them from the wasting and ceaseless litigation likely to arise in reference to the establishing



GREELEY HIGH SCHOOL.

of priority of claims to the use of water. The farmers foresaw the same thing staring them in the face, and have done the best they could to avert it. A convention was called, and a committee appointed to draft a bill. This bill was presented to the legislature. The committee on irrigation prepared a substitute, deemed to be constitutional by that very able lawyer, Judge Bromwell, who drafted it. There was a little grumbling done by a part of the committee appointed by the Farmers' Convention, chiefly, no doubt, because men don't like to see their work set aside; but the writer of this article, who was its chairman, took a different view of the matter, and regarded the substitute as a great improvement on ours. So, gradually, the bill began to be looked upon by the farmers with favor. Petitions came in from all quarters to Judge Elliott to appoint referees. The Judge appointed these referees without once hinting that the law was unconstitutional. He could then have done so as well as now, and saved us thousands of dollars of expense. Did he not hold this same opinion then? It appears that he said when he gave his late opinion in reference to the unconstitutionality of the law, that he had always held that opinion. Why, then, was the opinion withheld to this late hour? Was it so that the reference to a higher court should be delayed to as late a day as possible, and thus frustrate all attempts to settle this matter for the coming season? Perhaps he can explain or perhaps he will not deign to explain, but he ought to be held to account for this most extraordinary conduct.

But what are the reasons that Judge Elliott gives for the unconstitutionality of the law? Well, I have seen the reasons as copied by our lawyer. It is not an opinion of which he need be proud, either as to the clearness of its views or the ability of its arguments. Indeed, it is the thinnest and dimmest statement imaginable upon a subject of the greatest importance to the whole state. It throws a cloud over the value of millions of dollars' worth of invested property. But for the reasons—or, rather, reason, for there appears to be but one offered—it is this: "That it is unconstitutional to deprive a man of property without due process of law." But the law was passed for the express purpose of protecting property, not for the purpose of taking it away. It was made for the express purpose of simplifying the process of protecting vested rights. Who but a crotchety lawyer could construe such a bill into a device for taking away property without due process of law? It was an act for the establishment of property rights. But the trouble with it is, that it is a little new in its mode of procedure. It does not follow the usual routine. It is said there is no complainant and defendant. But does it differ very much from the general practice in the United States of requiring people to put on record their titles to real estate ? Indeed, was it anything more than putting on record title to priority to the use of water from certain natural streams ? The part that relates to the duties of the water commissioner is only a police regulation to carry into effect the just distribution, according to priority, of the rights of parties as defined by the constitution of the state. But before this police regulation can be carried out, we want to know authoritatively the titles of the different claimants. The decree of the court was to fix these titles and put them on record. And any party deeming itself aggrieved by decree of the court could ask for farther hearing, give in evidence, and appeal to a higher court. Now all this would appear to the non-legal mind as sufficient guaranty of the rights of individuals or corporations, and the parties interested have accepted the provisions of the bill as the best possible settlement of impending difficulties. Not so, however, the lawyers. To a logical mind not hampered by legal crotchets and antiquated precedents, it seems to me the numerous statutes of limitations, with which our laws now fairly bristle, would appear far more in conflict with the constitutional clause quoted than would any provision of this law. Has not this constitutional provision acquired a dangerous degree of elasticity in legal construction ? Is it not a weapon whose point lawyers are in the habit of using far too freely against new and unusual measures, however just and beneficent in their scope and intentions, while it is blunt and powerless in their hands against deeply rooted wrongs and time-honored injustice ?

"But you say, 'What are we going to do about it ?' There appears to be only one course left. This is for all farmers to unite and bring the matter before the Supreme Court of the state, and there have its constitutionality tested. There it must be argued fully, and we must secure the best and most high-minded counsel the state affords. That the ordinary lawyer will fight the measure tooth and nail is to be expected, because, if it is sustained, a good part of his occupation is over in the rural districts ; and besides, he will fight it because the movement commenced among the farmers, a class of men who believe very little in patronizing his profession.

Should we fail in establishing the constitutionality of this law, there will be no use in trying to have any farther legislation, for it will then be apparent that the legal quibbler has the whole thing in his hands, being able to set aside the most wholesome and salutary enactments by means of narrowly and professionally interpreted constitutional general statements. It is worth while to note that while lawyers freely admit the impending danger of great complication and inextricable difficulty besetting the establishment of the priority of rights to the use of water by the ordinary procedure, yet not one of them has offered any scheme of legislation to get us out of the apprehended danger. Most of them, indeed, say nothing can be done. We understand that Judge Elliott suggests no improvement in the law, but says that we must have remedy by the usual procedure. This shows how little he has looked into the matter, and how utterly incompetent he and his class are to adjudicate this affair. To the unbiased mind it would appear that a situation wholly unique could not be met by ordinary remedies. American legislation never has had to deal with irrigation. The same is true of the English, from whence we derive most of our jurisprudence and modes of procedure. In countries where irrigation has been long practiced, the state claims the ownership of the water and makes police regulations for its distribution. Indeed, some police regulation for this purpose is of paramount importance. When we farmers first took up the subject this was all we contemplated. But we soon found that no distribution could be effected until the titles to priority among the different claimants were established and made matter of record.

Legal gentlemen, we have laid down a plan with the assistance of one of the clearest headed and broadest minded of your profession. This plan on the whole suits us—at least as many of us as have early vested rights to maintain. We ask you to respect it, or suggest a better. If you only have the ability to pull down, to criticise destructively, you are enemies of the human race and must be superseded by saner and broader minded leaders.

"It will be seen that the principle of priority of appropriation, giving to individuals and corporations ownership to water taken from the natural streams of the state, places irrigation in this state upon a wholly different basis from that upon which it stands in countries where the state holds itself to be the sole owner. That Utah is getting into like difficulties is certain. I had a letter, last winter, from a member of its legislature stating that they needed sadly some legislation on the subject. He had heard that we had here done something wisely and well on the subject, and wanted a copy of our bill. But alas! the lawyers have proved that we, too, are at sea without compass, rudder or telescope. How long, my fellow sufferers, are we to be the playthings of these quibbling lawyers, these men of hidebound precedents, of regular procedures, of blind conservatism, of narrow routine, of crass stupidity? The toils that bind us must be cut if they cannot be untied."

Immediately after the publication of the above, a joint meeting was called of the colony, town, and Number Two canal company; and at it, it was resolved to bring into the Supreme Court of the state an action for a *mandamus* ordering the lower court to render a decree as the law provided. The firm of Haynes, Dunning & Haynes was retained at the moderate sum of $200. This was fitting, as the senior member of the firm, Judge Haynes, had managed the irrigation bill for us with admirable tact and ability, and secured its passage in the face of a very determined opposition led by Senator Rhodes, who fought it inch by inch. This made Judge Haynes familiar with every legal phase of the subject, and the junior members of the firm, as we have seen, were occupied upon the law for several months just preceding.

The president of the Colony Board was put in immediate charge of the case, and was instructed to go to Denver in company with one of the above-named firm and seek legal council there, and also get the best terms possible from capable parties willing to undertake the case. It was agreed on all hands that Judge Bromwell should be employed, if he could be united with some other able lawyer to assist him. It was also deemed advisable to approach General Hughes on the subject and, if possible, get him to work with Bromwell. The General had long before received a "retainer" from the Colony in a case which was never prosecuted, and had often expressed to Mr. Meeker, with whom he was always on the most friendly terms, a desire to help us in any cause we might be prosecuting. So the General was seen. At first he expressed the opinion so generally entertained by the bar of the state, that there could be no remedy provided by the legislature superior to the remedies now in existence. He freely admitted the difficulties in the case, argued it over good-naturedly, and acknowledged that he had not given the matter all the consideration that it deserved. As to the constitutionality of the law, he would take it under advisement with his junior partner, and consented to an interview with Judge Bromwell. The outcome was, that the General concluded that the law was constitutional, and a most desirable measure for the adjustment of the impending difficulties. Their terms were $500 as a retainer, but would put no figure upon their total fees.

Then Wells, Smith & Macon were interviewed. This firm believed that the law could be defended, and was a salutary one. It offered to carry the case through for $500.

On returning to Greeley and reporting, it was deemed best to accept the offer of Wells, Smith & Macon. This firm had great repute, and it was quite generally believed here that neither Hughes nor Bromwell were much of lawyers. They were both scholars and men of wide views, but they were both deemed lacking in technical knowledge and cunning, and were supposed, besides, to have become rusty. All of this was, no doubt, partly true; but if the president of the colony board had had it all his own way, he would have engaged these gentlemen, as they had qualifications which fitted them for handling a new and comprehensive subject. Of course there was the question of fees, but these he would have trusted to the known generosity of these gentlemen. As it was, our rejection of their services deeply wounded these men, and they resolved to make us pay for it when the opportunity offered.

When Judge Elliott read the above article, it nettled him exceedingly; but he did not think of fining or imprisoning its author for contempt of court. Like its writer he had been through the war of the rebellion, and he resolved to "beard the lion in his den," and appointed an extra session of the court at Greeley, where he offered to hear arguments by our counsel. And so the cause was not carried into the Supreme Court as yet. The Judge, after attending to some other insignificant business, adjourned the court for the evening, and delivered an address from the bench to the people of Greeley upon his attitude towards the law. In this, he denied having said that the law was unconstitutional; but it was defective, and in his opinion so much so that the court could not remedy it without stepping into the sphere of the legislature. He also acknowledged that he had been so pressed with business that he had not been able to give the law the consideration that it needed, when he was called upon to take immediate action; but now he had taken the time, and was ready to give us a hearing.

Major Smith had brought about a wagon load of authorities from Denver, but few of them bore on the point, as the Court had abandoned, if it ever expressed, the opinion of unconstitutionality. The only point needing to be argued was the competency of the court to make rules covering in this respect the deficiency of the law. Sufficient authorities were cited to convince the court that it had this power, but there arose a difference of opinion as to the nature of these rules. Judge Elliott held that there should be the form of a regular cause at law, the case of each ditch that wanted a decree being considered as against all other claimants of the district. It was objected that this process was unnecessary and would involve long delay, making the law useless for the present season, when its need was beginning to be felt. But the court was firm in this attitude, and it was deemed best to take the matter before the Supreme Court on a writ of *mandamus*. This was the advice of our Denver counsel, and as we had paid them for carrying the cause through, it was deemed best, and for the reason that if the method proposed by the lower court was sustained it would remove the doubt of its validity; and, on the other hand, if it were not, it would greatly simplify and cheapen proceedings. It was seen that nothing could be got in shape for the present season, and a temporary commissioner was appointed, upon petition, by the governor.

It was the next autumn before the case was taken up in the Supreme Court, and now General Hughes and Judge Bromwell were on hand in opposition to us. They volunteered to defend the court through spite, at what they considered the shabby treatment they had received at the hands of the plaintiffs. The result was that the higher court sustained the lower, for the reason that although the rules might not be the best possible, they were sufficient to carry the law into effect, and that the superior court had no right to dictate what the precise form of the rules in this case should be. The lower court had kept as near the usual form of procedure as the unique character of the case would permit, and, although cumbersome, it was perhaps safer.

Here it ought to be said that we must not charge General Hughes and Judge Bromwell with the inconsistency of defending a cause they had agreed to attack from the other side. The nature of the cause now up was essentially different to the one which they were ready to undertake for us. Still, it is well known that Judge Bromwell, in his drafting of the bill, never contemplated any such cumbersome proceedings in court as the ones adopted. Hence it must be conceded that these gentlemen were led to take the part they did by a feeling of wounded pride.

Now, as to the attitude of Judge Elliott, whether he declared the law unconstitutional or not at the first hearing, is a matter of veracity between him and our attorney, Mr. Dunning. The latter averred that he took down what he said in writing, and we see no reason for a motive of misrepresenting the views of the court. Besides, this was the view sustained by Rhodes and Butler. There was no final opinion given by the Judge at that time, and when he took the matter into more careful consideration, he changed his mind about its unconstitutionality, and abandoned what was an off-hand and, as it were, an *extra-curial* opinion. He was being worked to death, and no doubt disliked undertaking so much additional labor which would bring no additional pay. In fine, it may be said, that he was never asked to render a decree under his rules. At the next meeting of the legislature, which took place soon after the decision of the Supreme Court, upon the adequacy of his rules, a process of procedure was prepared by Judge Bromwell, and passed by that body, which dispensed with the issuing of summons to all the parties interested. It is, however, quite cumbersome in phraseology, and its superiority over Judge Elliott's rules is doubtful.

It is here worthy of remark that Rhodes and Butler undertook to overthrow the irrigation law at their own instance, and were not employed or instructed by the "English Company," whose attorneys they were, and which they were supposed to represent in this matter. This company, in connection with B. H. Eaton, were constructing the Larimer and Weld canal, and since it was the largest and latest canal, and its head well up stream, its projectors were *supposed* to be unfavorable to the doctrine of priority of appropriation giving priority of right. But both the company and Mr. Eaton had been reticent on the subject. However, as the discussion went on, both appear to have become convinced that it was not only the true doctrine, but that it would ultimately be for the interests of the enterprise in which they were engaged. How completely Mr. Rhodes changed front on this question we will see farther on.

The political campaign of 1880 resulted in the nomination of James M. Freeman instead of J. Max. Clark, whom the farmers in general had hoped would receive the Republican nomination, and as a consequence he was elected. Much work in the way of irrigation legislation was yet needed. One important feature of the bill of 1879 had been rejected by the legislature. This was the creation of the office of state engineer. With it had to go the provision for the gauging of the streams. This and other important additions were made to the law, and it was greatly improved. Mr. Freeman was chairman of the senate committee on irrigation, and did good, substantial work. B. S. LaGrange and A. D. Moodie attended at this session of the legislature, and worked for the passage of the law as amended. Other slight improvements have been made since, such as time suggested; but the essential features of the law to-day, it will be seen, were embraced in the bill brought before the legislature of 1879, and was, in its original form, the work of the farmers themselves, and in this the farmers of this colony took the lead. They also had to bear the whole of the expense of the contest in the courts above recited. They took the lead in having a referee appointed, and in prosecuting in every detail the provisions of the law. Of the value of this law and of the advanced step we took, let us hear from competent authority.

Says E. S. Nettleton in his report, as state engineer, for 1886:

"It is somewhat gratifying to know that non-residents are making favorable comments on our irrigation laws, and the system and methods of administering the laws. The Wyoming legislature, at its last session, framed and adopted a full system of irrigation laws for the territory. In most instances these laws are an exact copy of those adopted by our state, and now upon its statute books. Nevada has wakened up to the importance of the subject, and it is expected that some legislation will be had on the subject at the coming session of the legislature."

He farther quotes from a report of a commission, sent from Australia to this country to look up the subject of irrigation, among other things, the following:

"As the laws of Colorado are by far the most successful, they may be fairly allotted the first place." Then follows a recital of the provisions of our law, of which it is said: "By these and other simpler means a host of difficulties and complexities were escaped; permanence was given to existing works and encouragement offered for the construction of new works. It is not surprising, therefore, that in mileage of canals or in acres irrigated, Colorado more than doubles any other state, or that its works are the greatest and most permanent, and are the most rapidly extending."

The state engineer farther adds: "The water commissioners generally are of opinion that but little change in our present laws are required, as well as little need for additional legislation."

But more important than the above is the following testimony from William Ham Hall, the able and learned state engineer for California. In May, 1884, there was held in that state, at Riverside, an irrigation convention. The state engineer addressed it, and showed his audience the chaos in which claims to water were in California. He then goes on to outline a system of legislation for that state essentially the same as ours. He then adds:

"We are not without a precedent for the course which I propose for California in this matter.

"Colorado is an irrigation country, having larger canals and more of them than California. I have had my state pride as a citizen of this state somewhat taken down of late, by looking into the affairs of irrigation in Colorado.

"They had there, a few years ago, a perfect chaos with respect to water rights. Litigation reigned supreme as it reigns here. But in 1879 they passed a law providing for an examination into the subject of water rights and irrigation, and, in 1881, they passed a law providing for the proper proving up and recording of water right claims and the administration of the affairs of the waters and the streams."

He then proceeds to enumerate the provisions of our law, and then comes to the success of the working of this system. E. S. Nettleton had visited the state just before this convention met, and given Mr. Hall the names of certain parties to whom he was advised to write as to the success of the system. Among these names happened to be both that of the writer and of Senator L. R. Rhodes. As the views of these two, taken in connection, have a peculiar bearing on the subject before us, it is here deemed advisable to give the essential parts of each and the introduction to this part of the evidence of the state engineer of California.

"I have taken some pains to find out how the people are satisfied with the working of this law, and have entered into correspondence with quite a number of leading citizens there with this view. I have quite a collection of letters in answer to my inquiries obtained indiscriminately from lawyers, judges, members of the legislature and others. Some of these I have with me, and will read extracts as samples. I think they are interesting, and go right to the point of one source of trouble in this state, and indirectly to another. The first is from Mr. L. R. Rhodes, an attorney of very considerable standing, who has, I am informed, had a large share in the litigation and settlement of water-right matters. After giving an account of the condition of interminable and expensive litigation in which the water-right interest was, and of the details of the operation of the law, Mr. Rhodes says:

"'Now, as to the results: In all the decrees which have been entered by the district courts in the various water districts, involving millions of dollars' worth of property, belonging to thousands of different parties, there has been but one appeal to the Supreme Court, and that was taken to determine the validity of a grant made by the legislature of Kansas to the water of the South Platte river. The district comprising the Cache la Poudre river has been acting under these decrees for three years; the water commissioner has had comparatively no trouble; not a case of litigation has sprung up; the rights are so well defined, so easily understood; the system of measurement so simple and correct, that each company and individual understands his or their rights or property in water the same as in land.'"

"Here is a letter from David Boyd, President of the State Board of Agriculture, of which I read portions to the point:

"'Some six years ago a number of the appropriators of water for purposes of irrigation, became alarmed at the number of large irrigation canals at that time being projected. All of these were being taken out of the natural streams above those already constructed and in use. It was seen that these would have the advantage of position in times of scarcity, and that it would be extremely difficult for those below having older rights, to secure their recognition through the courts. Hence, a convention of farmers and owners of canals was called to meet in Denver in the month of December, 1888. Some of the appropriators there met, entertained apprehensions concerning the restrictions of their rights by the operation of an irrigation law. The subject was discussed, and those in favor of the enactment of a law beat the other side at every point.

"'At that time most of the Colorado bar was opposed to the enactment of a law recording and defining rights and regulating the use of water. This was no doubt partly due to selfish motives, but was still more due to the reluctance of the legal mind to entertain any projects for which the past has furnished no precedents. The older members of both bar and bench were more opposed to the scheme than the younger ones, while members of broader reading and reflection were generally in favor from the commencement. I here speak of the attitude of the bar and bench in order to bring before you the favorable change that has gradually come over the members of the legal profession, for scarcely one of this profession can now be found who is not convinced of the salutary effect of the law.

"'I understand that you have written to ex-Senator Rhodes. Of the favorable light in which he will now lay the benefits of the law before you I do not entertain the least doubt. Still, at the first convention spoken of above, Mr. Rhodes, then state senator-elect, made his appearance and opposed any attempt to have a law passed on the subject. According to him, the courts would afford the appropriate remedy. He spoke so strongly in the convention that the chair called him to order, and he fought against the passage of the bill at every stage of its progress through the legislature.

"'In brief, the individuals and corporations who fought against the measure are now, so far as I know, amongst its warmest friends. There are now no lawsuits pending in the courts about the appropriation of water, save one, which is based upon an old grant made when Colorado was a part of the territory of Kansas.'"

To this Mr. Hall adds: "The Senator Rhodes, to whom reference is here made in the above letter, is the same gentleman whose letter I first read to you, and who said that the law had turned out to be a blessing."

Extracts were also read from letters of B. H. Eaton, H. P. H. Bromwell and B. S. La Grange, all equally favorable to the workings of the law, and afforded the state engineer of California a strong argument for the adoption of a similar one for his own state.

But, since then, new questions in regard to the rights vested in water and its general management have arisen. At the last session of the legislature many irrigation bills were brought forward, but none of them of material importance became a law, save one, which we shall hereafter quote. Some of these bills had in view state management with a declaration of state ownership of all the waters of the state. The following is the constitutional provision on this point:

"The water of every *natural stream* not *heretofore appropriated*, within the state of Colorado, is hereby declared to be the property of the public, and is dedicated to the use of the people of the state, subject to appropriation as hereinafter provided.

"The right to divert unappropriated waters of every *natural* stream for beneficial uses shall never be denied. Priority of appropriation shall give better right, as between those using water for the same purpose; but, when the waters of any natural stream are not sufficient for the service of all those desiring the use of the same, those using water for domestic purposes shall have the preference over those claiming for any other purpose; and those using for agricultural purposes shall have the preference over those using for manufacturing purposes."

Now, in the first place, the constitution and all the laws made thereunder, refer to water in natural streams, and leave in dispute all waters derived from sources not coming under the definition of a natural stream. Hence, litigation has arisen about the ownership of underground water, and also water arising by percolation to the surface on a person's estate. These questions have to be decided according to decisions of courts made in countries where no irrigation is practiced, and are very intricate in their nature, requiring the highest legal ability, combined with broad general information, to handle them. The fact that all the waters of the natural streams north of the Divide have already been appropriated, and that all these sources of underground supply are being brought into requisition by means of pumps, or drifting and piping, makes a law upon this subject of vital importance, to prevent wasting and interminable lawsuits. Again, the question of what is the sense of the term "water for domestic purposes" as employed in the state constitution, is one that has led to litigation, and a case coming under it has been for some two years before the Supreme Court, and at present time of writing is undecided. When Mr. Freeman was in the State Senate he offered a resolution to have an opinion defining the meaning of domestic use by the State Supreme Court, but it was not so enacted, and the question is still awaiting solution.

In addition, there is the question of drainage upon which Colorado has no laws; and this is becoming more important every day, as the area of wet land is constantly increasing. Moreover, all the laws relating to water have been passed at different sessions of the legislature, some of the later ones in some measure annulling or superseding former ones, and so those in force need codifying.

Taking all these things into consideration, Senator James McCreery, of this city, who is chairman of the senate committee on irrigation, prepared a bill for the appointment of a commission of three by the Governor, approved by the senate, whose duty should be to take into consideration the whole water question and prepare a code thereupon, to be submitted to the next general assembly. The second section of this bill sets forth the scope of the proposed law and reads as follows:

"It shall be the duty of said commissioners, upon their acceptance of said appointment, to jointly enter upon the work of drafting, framing, digesting and codifying a system of law in accordance with the provisions of the constitution, and subject to rights vested thereunder, embracing the whole subject of the waters of the state; whether such waters are derived from natural streams, springs, surface or underground channels, artesian wells, rainfall, melting snows, flood waters, percolating and seepage waters, water collected by drainage, and from any and every source of accumulation and supply; to provide for the appropriation, regulation, distribution, use and economy of the same for domestic, agricultural, mechanical and mining purposes, by canals, reservoirs, drains, conduits, pipes or otherwise; to provide for the redemption of swamp and seepage lands by drainage, and for the utilization of the water collected from drainage works, and, generally, to formulate a complete system of laws in relation to waters derived and collected from any and every source, and used, employed and disposed of in the various beneficial uses and disposition to which water is applied under conditions existing in the state, and to provide for the offices, officers, powers and facilities necessary to carry out and enforce the provisions of such a system of law."

The drafting of such a bill as the above proves its author to be a man of comprehensive mind, minutely acquainted with all the details of his subject, and alive to the interests of his constituents on this most vital source of their prosperity. It shows that the senate did well in appointing him chairman of this most important committee—an honor which has always been conferred upon the senator from this district—thus acknowledging this community as the leader in this matter.

The bill was enacted and became a law, and the men appointed were Judge E. T. Wells, J. S. Green—late state engineer—and T. C. Henry.

The latter is one of the most extensive canal builders and land speculators in the state, and for that and other reasons would appear to be not a suitable person to have on this most important commission. The other two are amply qualified for the task, Judge Wells being well informed on the subject, painstaking in investigation and accurate in statement; while Engineer Green has had the experience in his office of the last two years, covering all the intricate questions now coming up, and needing settlement. But it appears to the writer that B. H. Eaton would have been a much better appointment than Mr. Henry, as the former, in addition to being an extensive constructor of canals, is also the most extensively engaged in agriculture by irrigation of any man in the state, and has the widest range of practical knowledge on the whole subject, covering a period of some thirty years. He would have at once represented the canal building interest and the agricultural interest properly so called. Now, the latter has no representative, and we have seen that the whole scheme of irrigation legislation originated with men engaged in agriculture, and that their views were sound on the leading questions of irrigation, while those of lawyers and engineers were unsound.

We have before noticed the *speculative* views of Mr. McCreery on irrigation, and have held them up as unsound; but we have great confidence in his ability and knowledge in relation to the legal aspects of the subject, and he is likely to head off attempts at retrogressive movements with which every legislature is about to be assailed in the future as they have during recent ones. But it seems highly probable that the commission which this law provides for will not be able to do anything, as there will be no funds left to pay it. Ten thousand dollars were appropriated to pay the salaries and other expenses of the commissioners, but as this was from *funds not otherwise appropriated*, like so many other projects of that legislature, it is more than likely to fall through on account of the failure of the state finances, for these gentlemen are not likely to do the work *con amore*.

# CHAPTER XI.

AGRICULTURE BY IRRIGATION—FERTILITY OF OUR SOIL—"NATIONAL LAND COMPANY'S" STATEMENT ABOUT PRODUCTIVENESS—WILL AN IRRIGATED SOIL WEAR OUT?—DOES THE WATER CONTAIN THE ELEMENTS OF FERTILITY NEEDED BY CROPS?—IRRIGATION PRODUCES DIFFERENT EFFECTS UPON THE FERTILITY OF DIFFERENT SOILS—DUTY OF WATER ON DIFFERENT SOILS—ALFALFA AS A FERTILIZER—POTATOES AND POTASH—SOIL SUITED TO THE POTATO—RAIN WATER AND RIVER WATER COMPARED AS FERTILIZERS—WELL AND SEEPAGE WATERS ANALYZED—WATER OF RESERVOIRS—EVAPORATION WHEN IN EXCESS OF RAINFALL, EFFECT ON WATER OF RESERVOIRS—"SEEPAGE" LANDS, HOW BECOME SUCH AND THEIR FERTILITY—DRAINAGE OF SAME—POTATO CULTURE AROUND GREELEY—BEST LAND FOR—THE POTATO BUG—WHAT IT COSTS TO FIGHT IT—HISTORY OF THIS CROP IN NORTHERN COLORADO—ALFALFA AS A CROP—INTRODUCTION TO NOTICE.

THE question of the fertility of our soil when irrigated was even a more important one to the early settler than the question of water supply, and upon it was found a great conflict of opinions.

We have seen that the settlements in this valley, before the colony came here, were all made on the first bottom lands, and the upper bench lands were generally regarded by those who were engaged in farming at that time as next to worthless.

On the other hand the newspapers, which were sent to the colonists before coming here, contained the most extravagant accounts of the fertility of Colorado soil. Of course so far as these statements were based upon facts, they related to crops raised on first bench lands, which fact, however, was carefully concealed by the writers of these newspaper articles, who were all agents of the "National Land Company," whose chief business was to sell the lands of the Denver Pacific railway.

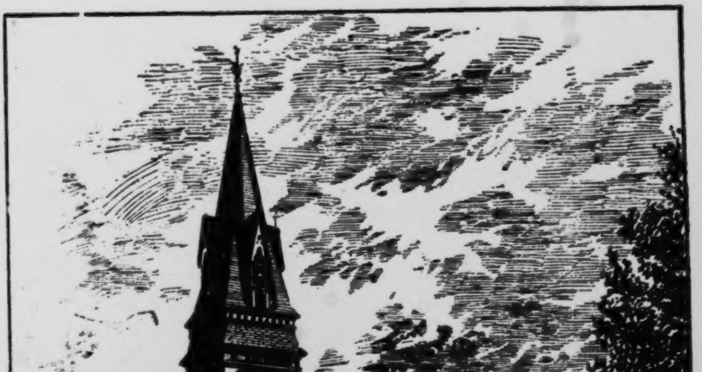
The following paragraph is taken from *The Star of Empire*, published by the above named company and sent to every colonist at the time the location was made here:

"In return, the farmer, having insured his crop by providing for its irrigation, may count upon an average yield of wheat of twenty-six or twenty-eight bushels to the acre; or, if he will give it extra care in plowing and planting, he may increase that return to forty, fifty, sixty, or even seventy bushels to the acre. His oats will yield from forty to eighty bushels; barley, thirty to sixty; potatoes from one hundred to three hundred, and cabbage ten to twenty tons to the acre. The *largest crops mentioned have been exceeded–some of them 100 per cent.*"

We have seen that Horace Greeley took this all in, and on his return to New York, wrote in *The Tribune* that if all the lands of Union Colony should be plowed the coming winter, he believed that they would yield an average of forty bushels to the acre. Now how much of the above have we found to be fact and how much fiction ?

I think that farmers at large in the colony will agree with me when I say, that the average of wheat on new breaking has not exceeded fifteen bushels, and on old ground twenty bushels for the twenty years we have been cropping; that the average of oats on upland, not manured, has not been over thirty bushels, and that of barley, twenty bushels. The year just past has given, in my opinion, the largest average of any year since the colony settled here, and may be close to thirty bushels. But for the two years before, the average was below fifteen bushels.

That our grain crop of last year was the largest we have raised, would seem to prove the opinion advanced when we came here, that "irrigated land never wears out." But this is not really the case. The water supply being so deficient in 1887-1888, the soil did not yield nearly its average crop, and there was a stored-up fertility which became available when we had a year of seasonable rains and plenty of water for irrigation, during the small grain season. It was in a manner, and in some places completely so, a summer fallowing of the land. Our experience is that continual cropping, without returning anything to the soil, gradually exhausts it, and especially, if grain crop follows grain crop. This practice has long been abandoned on the lands of Union Colony. The rotation has been wheat and potatoes, where the latter do well. It was found that much larger crops of wheat could be grown after potatoes than after corn. The latter crop is used in rotation, where potatoes do not do well. This land is usually heavier than that adapted to the potato, and hence does not show signs of exhaustion so soon as if the same rotation were followed on the lighter soils. But following up any of these rotations for a number of years, and the observing farmer can see a diminution of yield. From the nature of things, this must be so, if the water of irrigation does not contain a sufficient amount of the important elements, needed by agricultural crops, to restore year by year what is removed by these crops. If we keep drawing constantly from our bank account, without making fresh deposits, its depletion must come sooner or later, however large it was on the start. To be sure, there are certain elements in the soil needed by crops that are practically inexhaustible, while others are supplied by water and air in unlimited abundance. In nearly all cases the question is narrowed down to this, "Is there enough phosphoric acid, potash and nitrogen in the soil to supply the yearly drain of these substances?" These are in quite limited quantities in all soils, but vary in their relative proportions. Perhaps the most important of them—phosphoric acid—may be present in large quantities, but in a state that renders it slowly soluble, and hence may keep up the needed supply for centuries. Plenty of water would increase the quantity dissolved, and would increase the yearly supply for the successive crops. But, if this or the other elements are in a state easily soluble, a large application of water will carry them off in the under-drainage. Hence, it is found that, in some countries, irrigation only enables a soil to exhaust itself more rapidly. Porous soils, with gravelly subsoils, needing two or three times the quantity of water that soils with compact clay subsoils need, it will be seen, must soon exhaust themselves if the waters of irrigation do not contain the three indispensable constituents above named. The lands of Union Colony vary exceedingly in this respect. Take the soil of Lone Tree Valley, or that of Black Hollow, such is the nature of the subsoil that but very little of the water of irrigation can get through, and the body of the soil is so deep that for a long time it must remain practically inexhaustible, provided that it is not unusually deficient in one or more of the constituents referred to. Take, on the other hand, most of the land under Number Three, especially on the "delta," and we have the other extreme. This is mostly new soil, deposited from a wash from the upper bench lands, which here deposited mostly gravel and sand, its finer particles being carried off into and down the Poudre. Close beneath, in most cases, is coarse gravel. The duty of water on such land is not more than one-third of that on the lands before mentioned. This is the character in general of all second bench land, such as that of the Big Bend of the Platte or that on the same stream below the Plumb bridge. On such land alfalfa needs three heavy irrigations for three cuttings, while on land with a deep, close subsoil, one irrigation will make three good, heavy cuttings. So, when we speak of the duty of water, it is important to know the character of the soil, as this may make it vary from one to three under the same management. Then, again, over the river, we have soils of



UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

light, sandy loam, with compact clay subsoils from twenty to fifty feet deep, before reaching the gravel. These soils require but little water, and the irrigation of them cannot produce any rapid depletion of the elements of fertility. But, upon the immediate surface, these soils are not so plentiful in nitrogen, which is mostly found in humus. Hence, we find that oats and corn exhaust these soils, and upon them potatoes and wheat have been the principal crops. But, one year with another, it is found that the average is falling off, and farmers are hauling manure, in some cases, great distances, to restore the lost fertility. Others are keeping more stock on the farm, especially horses, for breeding purposes, to get a home supply of manure. The extensive production of alfalfa has enabled our farmers to do this, and is working a revolution in our methods of farming. Not only does it afford the means of making large quantities of manure, but it is found that, when turned under, it is even a better fertilizer than red clover. M. J. Hogarty, last season, had a large field turned over and planted to potatoes, one part being clover sod and the other alfalfa. He informs me that the yield on the alfalfa was two to one of that on the clover. J. Max. Clark had a piece of alfalfa turned over last spring also, and had it planted to potatoes, while he planted an adjacent piece heavily manured with stable manure, and the alfalfa sod surpassed the manured land two to one.

The reason that alfalfa increases the available fertility is this: Its roots penetrate the soil, when grown for a number of years, some fifteen feet deep, if the subsoil is favorable, as it is on the natural potato land we have spoken of. It draws on all this body of soil for the production of its immense top growth of stems and leaves. These latter fall in great abundance on the soil at each successive cutting, and are rotted on it by the succeeding irrigations. Then, again, there is a great quantity of thick roots, covered with bunches of spreading stubble, the remains of successive cuttings. That all this material is rich in nitrogen there can be no doubt. Alfalfa belongs to the leguminous family of plants, all of which, but the clovers in the most marked degree, have the property of appropriating large quantities of nitrogen from the air, if not directly through their leaves, which is doubtful, then through their roots. This is proved by the fact that soils poor in nitrogen will produce plants of this family better than any other; that these plants are themselves, both in stem, leaves and seeds, rich in nitrogen; and that when they have been grown for a succession of years on land poor in nitrogen, it becomes richer in this element. Hence, it is to be inferred, that the chief advantage to the soil derived from this plant is nitrogen. But, in addition to this, it no doubt brings up from the lower soil phosphoric acid and potash, and leaves them at or near the surface, where they become available for shallower rooting plants.*

The demands of the potato on the soil for potash is greater than that of any other crop, and its failure on certain soils in Colorado may be due to the deficiency of this substance in these soils. However, the mechanical conditions of the soil seem to the writer to be of as much importance as its chemical composition. For its successful cultivation, it needs a loose upper soil lying upon a compact clay subsoil; this soil needs to be deeply plowed and well worked, and made as rich as possible. The soil we have named as natural potato land has the quality mentioned, and the subsoil, when turned up, becomes as loose as the upper soil, and is as fertile.

In all this inquiry we have disregarded the fertility supposed to be brought by the waters of irrigation in greater measure, and of a different kind, from that brought by rain water. There is nothing can determine this but an analysis of these waters. Ordinary rain, especially after a long drouth, is known to bring from the atmosphere ammonia and nitric acid, both good means of supplying the plant with nitrogen. In this ingredient, then, rain water is probably richer than river water, except when the latter carries in it alluvial soil washed away from its banks in times of high water. This would contain humus, which is usually rich in nitrogen and all the other elements which alluvial soil contains. This is the character of the Nile mud, and our river water contains the more of it the higher the river is, and the lower down the stream the ditch heads. But the ordinary water of the river coming from melted snows and flowing through rocky canons and over granite boulders can contain but little fertilizing material. How much it does contain can be discovered by frequent chemical analyses. A commencement has been made in this direction by the experimental station connected with the Agricultural College situated at Fort Collins.

*An instance of the fertilizing effects of alfalfa on a soil sown to wheat, is furnished by a piece of alfalfa sod plowed up some four years ago by Mr. Cuthburtson, near Fort Collins. The piece has been sown three years in succession to the above named crop, and the returns have been proximately sixty, fifty, and forty bushels per acre each successive year. In addition, quite an average crop of alfalfa seed has been saved at each threshing, the alfalfa not having been quite killed by these three years of plowing. Still, this can be done with the proper kind of plow and at the proper time. The scattered alfalfa plants did not seem to harm the growth of the wheat. The writer has the above from one of the family of the farmer named, whose testimony is above suspicion.

There is but one analysis of water coming through the canon in May, 1889. This water was remarkably pure, containing only 6.4 grains solid matter to the gallon, mostly carbonate of lime and carbonate of magnesia, *with not a trace of either* of the three ingredients *needed in a fertile soil.* It will be seen that the total quantity of solid matter is here exceedingly small, only about one in nine thousand

This was taken in May. We are not informed whether early or late in the month. This is important, as we want to know whether it was taken at high or low water, and during this month the change from the one to the other is made.

The next analysis made of river water was on July 16th, and ten miles down stream from the canon, and gives 68.8 grains per gallon, or more than ten times the quantity of solid matter of former analysis. Of this solid matter .085 per cent., or eight ten-thousandths, was phosphoric acid. There is no trace of potash or nitrates. The quantity of phosphoric acid is about that found ~~in a~~ soil rich in that constituent. But this, it will be seen, is only the per centage in the solids, which were in this case about one-ninth of one per cent. of the weight of the liquid. The water analyzed was taken when the river was at a comparatively low stage and well down the stream, hence well mixed with return seepage water. It contained about as much carbonate of lime as sulphate of soda, and some carbonate of magnesia. There were also sulphates of lime and magnesia. The salts of these three substances constituted over 97 per cent. of the solid matter, and are worse than useless.

An analysis of seepage water taken from a drain on the college farm gave 240.4 grains of solid matter to the gallon, with ingredients in the same proportion, but with no trace of phosphoric acid, potash or nitrates, hence was useless as manure. The quantity of solid matter has increased four-fold, as compared with the previous sample of river water.

A sample of well water taken near the foothills, and having a slightly alkaline taste, gave 84 grains per gallon, and has none of the three fertilizing constituents.

The solids found in these alkali waters differ very considerably from the white incrustations found on the soil, the former containing much lime and magnesia, while the latter consists almost wholly of sulphate of soda. One sample analyzed gave considerable chloride of sodium, or common salt. But there is little doubt that analyses of alkali from different sections will show marked differences in the constituents. It appears that carbonate of soda is much more detrimental to vegetation than the sulphate. The former is not found abundantly in our alkali incrustations, but its presence may be known by its *dark color*, which is due to the solution of this salt decomposing the humus of the soil.

From all this it would appear that, practically there is no fertility to be derived from either river water, seepage water or well water, while the last two contain constituents that are damaging. If the latter were stored in reservoirs, the evil of impregnating the soil with injurious salts from their use upon it would be increased, as it has been found by chemical analyses made on the waters of reservoirs in California that, year after year, their saturation with these injurious salts increases. In some cases, in the above named state, the fish have died in reservoirs from this increased saturation. Analyses of water from reservoirs near Fort Collins, and which have been filled from the comparatively fresh mountain river water, give, in one case, 52 grains, in another 69 grains, and in a third 26 grains per gallon. We are not informed how long these have been in use. It will be seen that, compared with the river water taken at the same place, the least saturated has four times, and most saturated ten times, the quantity of salts that the former has. Farther analyses continued through a number of years will be needed to see whether this saturation goes on increasing, which is to be inferred from the fact that the evaporation from the surfaces of these lakes is much in excess of the rainfall, and that the salts contained in this excess remain in the reservoir. However, if fresh mountain water is used, the saturation may never reach a point to make the water materially injurious to vegetation. We may conclude this to be the case, as the Seely lake, filled from Number Two, which takes water from the river some fifteen miles from the foothills, is still fresh enough for fish to do well in it, after fifteen years of use. But there is no doubt that well or seepage water, continuously stored in a reservoir, would, in a few years, become so saturated as to be highly injurious to the soil.

It should be observed that the storing of water in reservoirs, in countries where the annual rainfall is *less* than the evaporation from a water surface, has quite different results from those brought about in countries where the rainfall is greater than the evaporation. Experiments made at the Agricultural College show that for the months of June and July, 1888, the evaporation was about 14.7 inches, while the rainfall for that year was less than ten inches. The total evaporation for the year is about 45 inches, making, in a year of minimum rainfall, the evaporation about five times its quantity.

On the other hand. in Italy the evaporation is less than the rainfall, and so water stored in that country would not become salter. In most parts of India the rainfall is greatly in excess of evaporation. Some districts have a fall of 120 inches per annum, and in such districts numerous reservoirs are filled from the overflow of water from the watershed in their immediate vicinity. There were thousands of these reservoirs in India at the time that the English projected their magnificent system of irrigation for that country, and as the different districts come under the canal irrigation, the reservoirs are being discontinued —the land under them being of more value for the production of crops than for the storage of water.

As to the value of river water for fertilizing purposes, it is here in point to quote from the remarks of Mr. Atkinson in the discussion of Mr. O'Meara's paper on "Irrigation in Northeastern Colorado," before referred to. He said:

"Mr. George Higgins, civil engineer and member of this institute, had stated that nothing is wanted but water (in a certain district of Spain), so that the land would rise to ten to fifteen times its present value, and that the crops would be enormous. An English company bought 4,000 acres of this land, and sent out a set of machinery. They turned on the water, but got no crops. Then, by means of steam plows, they brought up the subsoil and laid it on the top, but that did not answer. Unless the land was highly manured, the wheat plant yielded nothing but straw. He himself went over the farm with Mr. Gregg, a director of the company, who stated that, in order to make the land productive by irrigation, it would require an expenditure of $60 an acre for manure. * * * It might be said, with regard to irrigation generally, that it was necessary to *put into the soil the ingredients needed by the plant, as the waters of irrigation did not contain them.* All schemes founded on the supposition that irrigation would succeed without manure, and without much extra labor, were fallacious. In new countries, therefore, unless the way could be seen to future development so that there might be manure in abundance, it would be a great mistake to lay out money in expensive works."

Mr. Atkinson also gave analyses of the waters of certain streams in Spain, showing that they contained absolutely nothing of the three essential constituents needed for the production of agricultural crops. These lands, remember, on which the above experiments were made, *were old, worn-out lands,* that were expected to become productive by the application of water alone, or at least with that in connection with deep plowing. Of course it is different on our *new, rich, virgin* soil, but it is nevertheless true that irrigation, so far from preventing exhaustion, will only hasten that process, and that manuring is even more of a necessity under irrigation than where the rainfall is depended upon.

In concluding our review of the capabilities of our soil under irrigation, we must refer to the great body of land that has become moistened, permanently, from the percolation of water arising in the soil from the *water table*, which has been elevated in all districts long under irrigation, and which, in some places, comes *near*, while in others *to* the surface. All the water applied to the land, and which does not disappear in vapor from the surface of the ground, or the foliage of the growing crops, finds its way into the subsoil, and reaches at length the gravel underlying this subsoil, which varies in depth from a few to fifty feet, over the lands of Union Colony. The result of this is to raise the level of the water in the underlying gravel until it touches the overlying clay stratum, through which it arises by percolation and reaches the surface, if this clay stratum is not deep. This is the case in the valley between the different higher table lands, the overlying clay having been worn off these valleys by the erosion of water which, during past ages, made its way to the river down the lowest levels in the contour of the country.*

In the Poudre valley, perhaps 15,000 acres of 90,000 acres of third bench land, under irrigation, are now wet to the surface throughout the year. In, perhaps, half of this, the water table is far enough from the surface to allow agricultural crops to thrive well, and, when it is so, these lands yield enormous crops. The other half can be reclaimed by under-drainage, as has been demonstrated by experiments made last year on the Agricultural College farm. This

*As an illustration of how water rises under the soil after irrigation, the writer can instance the case of his own land situated under the "Larimer and Weld" canal, three miles south of Eaton. Before irrigation was commenced from the above named canal, a well was dug through, proximately, twenty-five feet of clay, twenty-five feet of coarse gravel, and twenty-five feet of shale. At seventy-five feet a small flow of water was found, which did not rise in the well until irrigation had been going on for more than two years. Then it made its appearance in the lower portion of the gravel stratum, and arose steadily in this gravel until it came to its upper surface, twenty-five feet below the soil surface, where it remains. On the west part of this farm there is a draw, made by the wearing effects of the water, which has found its way to the river over this depression for centuries. Here the gravel is met at from five to ten feet. After irrigation had been going on around and above it for some seven years, this draw began to show signs of moistness, and some one hundred acres of the farm there situated needs no irrigation, and produces enormous crops.

lowers the level of the water table, and it is found that the incrustation of alkali disappears also from the underdrained surface. As there is now being manufactured a good tile, at a reasonably low price, near Greeley, no doubt where sufficient fall can be readily had, it will pay to reclaim these most valuable lands, the fertility of which *seems* to be increased by this sub-irrigation.

I say that the *fertility seems* to be increased. There is no doubt of the increased *productiveness* of these soils, but whether this will continue, is quite a different question. To illustrate the point of increased productiveness, let us take the case of a farm five miles northwest of Greeley. This farm is owned by Alfred Baxter, and is in a bend of Number Two canal, where it crosses a valley like those above spoken of. It has been in cultivation for eighteen years. For a number of years, say twelve, it was cropped year after year in wheat, and the average, which had been some twenty-five bushels, sank to half the figure. About six years ago it became moist enough from underground percolation to need no more irrigation, the lowest part needing to be drained. Immediately the average of wheat arose to thirty bushels to the acre, and so continues, while immense crops of potatoes are raised on alternate years with the wheat, and all without manure. For a few years before it became wet, potatoes had been tried, but the soil being adobe, baked badly, and the potatoes were small and scabby. Now, they are large and smooth. The ground wet from below keeps mellow the year round. Now, the question arises, "From whence comes this increased fertility, and is it likely to be permanent?" We have seen that river water contains none of the three needed constituents, then whence does the water which feeds the roots of the crops on this soil get this fertility? Above this farm there is an irrigated district, some four miles wide, lying between Number Two and the Larimer and Weld canals. Over the whole of this irrigated belt the surplus water of irrigation is percolating through the deep, rich subsoil into the gravel stratum, which carries the water to this and other farms in the valley. That the whole of this subsoil is rich in plant food, is known from the fact that clay taken from it in digging wells at any depths will grow plants, after exposure to the air and moisture, as well as that at the surface. The water, in passing through this immense body of clay, must dissolve and carry off some of the elements of fertility, and hold them in a state available for plant food. But this is only *a priori* reasoning, and seems not to be sustained, or only partially sustained, by the analyses made at the Agricultural College. In one instance we have seen that the water analyzed contained phosphoric acid. This was water taken from the river ten miles down stream, at low water, when there was present in it seepage water. On the other hand, the seepage water taken from the college farm ditch is not reported to have contained any phosphoric acid. As this is present, if at all, in very small quantities, an analysis made for the determination of other more easily ascertained facts, may have not been exact enough to detect phosphoric acid. But, it appears to me, that farther investigations with the view of ascertaining this point, will disclose the fact that our seepage water is rich in all the three ingredients requisite to a fertile soil, and it is to be hoped that the chemical department of the experiment station at Fort Collins will keep on in the line of investigation which it has so well begun.

As the potato crop of Greeley has become famous throughout the United States, it deserves here a more extended notice than the incidental mention we have made of it in passing.

The Greeley potato district lies on the other side of the river, northward of the town, is about ten miles wide from east to west, and has an average width of about six miles. The town of Eaton is much nearer the center of this district than Greeley, and is destined in the future to ship more of the crop than Greeley. The tract is watered about in equal area from Union Colony Canal Number Two and the Larimer and Weld or English Company's Canal. The shipments from both stations for the last five years have run from 1,000 to 1,800 carloads, the average price during these years being somewhat below $1.00 per hundred pounds, or, on an average, a quarter million dollars a year. The minimum price that potatoes can be raised and delivered sacked at the railroad station is seventy-five cents per hundred. It costs at the average distance from market twenty-five cents per hundred to dig, sort, sack, and deliver at the station.

The central location of Colorado in respect to the other portions of the United States is a great advantage in enabling us nearly every year to find an outlet, at remunerative prices, for this perishable crop. If a failure of the crop happens anywhere, we can supply the deficiency at no great disadvantage, as compared with other localities. This year the deficiency was West, and we have shipped train loads to California. Some years the failure is in Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, and Iowa, and there is a constant demand in Texas and farther South. The superiority of the quality gives our article a great advantage when brought into competition in distant markets with other shipped potatoes. Hence, there is less risk in cultivating potatoes as a staple crop here than almost anywhere else in the country.

The extensive cultivation of the potato crop has made a supply of water as late as the middle of September, a prime necessity. Perhaps half the area planted during the last three years has scarcely been worth the digging, on account of the want of water in July and August. The areas of seepage land that are in just the right state of humidity to raise this crop are exempt from failure from the cause above named, and yield enormous crops every year. But, the extent of such lands is not great, and can be doubled or more by sub-drainage. So great is the demand for water for the late irrigation of this crop, that large wells have been dug and steam pumps put in, and in no long time it is to be expected that such pumps will be put in whenever there is a sufficient supply of water not too far from the surface. What the effect of watering from these wells, which are all quite alkaline, will be upon the land, it is now hard to say. But, where the drainage is good and the soil irrigated in alternate years, when in wheat, with fresh river water, there need be no fear of poisoning it with injurious salts. But, should these wells be depended upon alone, and especially if the water from them was to be stored in reservoirs during the non-irrigating months, it is to be feared that the soil would be ruined in the course of a comparatively few years.

In addition to this drawback of scarcity of water for the late irrigation of this crop, there is the constant presence of the Colorado potato bug. This is its "native heath," and we need not hope to ever get completely rid of it. Should there not be a potato raised for the next five years along the whole Eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains, the bug would live and prosper, as there are two species of solanum, native to the plains, upon which it feeds, and seems to like even better than the potato. Last year there were sold in Greeley and Eaton about 14,000 pounds of Paris green, which at the average price it cost the farmer--thirty cents per pound—amounted to $4,200; and the cost of the labor of applying it is about as much, making the total cost of fighting this pest for that year about $8,400. This, however, was the worst year in our experience. A warm, open winter seems to preserve more of the bugs over, than a cold one with much snow on the ground. Late flooding of the ground intended to be put into potatoes might appear a remedy, but this can be done to no great extent, and the bugs or, rather, beetles, fly around freely, and would come from other unflooded areas.

The history of potato culture, in the country watered by the Platte and its tributaries, has been a curious one. When the colony came here, immense crops were raised on the Big Thompson bottom, and continued to be for about three years afterwards. Since then, the farmers on this creek are hardly able to raise enough for their own use.

For the first two years potatoes did well near Greeley, on this side of the river. For some twelve years none could be raised in and around town. They did, as a rule, no better on newly broken sod than on old land. Heavy manuring of the land did not help the matter. The vines were struck with a blight, or rust. This fungus made the leaves thick and stiff, and undoubtedly destroyed the sap and prevented the leaves from carrying on their function. Meanwhile, over the river, on the tract which we have called natural potato land, the crops were generally good, though the same blight for two years very much shortened the crop. As there was a general failure of the potato crops all over Colorado, the price ranged high, and some farmers made neat little fortunes in a few years. About the commencement of this period of general failure of the crop, a Mr. Clark had a tract of land near Denver that brought a good crop every year, and he was so successful when everybody around him failed, that he has gone ever since by the sobriquet of "Potato Clark." However, in the course of some five years, his ground also ceased to respond in its wonted manner, and he turned his attention to market gardening.

Occasionally, about one year in ten, there is a general good potato crop over the whole irrigated region north of the Divide, while in that elevated region they get a fair crop without irrigation in a season of heavy rainfall. Some little valleys in the mountains also produce large crops, but the quality is generally inferior, and they are nearly always badly scabbed.

This disease is also one of the mysteries attending potato culture here. At a time it was charged almost wholly to excessive irrigation, especially, flooding the ground so that it baked badly. This, no doubt, aggravates the disease, but we have seen potatoes that were never watered at all, and, where the ground was as loose and dry as an ash heap, badly scabbed and, of course, of no size. The plowing under of large quantities of stubble, or coarse manure, seems to be favorable for the development of the scab, especially if the plowing is shallow. In fine, deep plowing, say ten or twelve inches deep, thorough culture, frequent light irrigations between deep ridges, seem to be the best methods of preventing the growth of scab. The potatoes should not be irrigated until they begin to come into blossom, and then the ground should be kept moist for about a month. Early potatoes rarely do well, as the ground is usually too hot for the tubers to prosper until late in August. Even in our best potato district, early potatoes are usually struck with the rust; the provoking cause seem-ing to be a hot sun on leaves tender and moist from the necessary irrigation.

In fine, it may be said, that the whole matter of planting, cultivating, watering, harvesting, and marketing has become so well understood and systematized, that the Greeley farmers have become experts in all these things, and are hard to compete with in this line of agriculture.

We have spoken of the production of alfalfa as a forage plant, and, as an auxiliary in the production of other crops, from its value as a manure. We will now speak of it as a crop itself. On well-set ground, after the first year, may be confidently expected, year after year, four tons to the acre. It is this year worth $4 a ton, the lowest it has been so far. It is worth about half the crop at this price to irrigate it and put it in the stack. This would give a rental of $8 per acre, which is as much as the rent from a wheat crop of thirty bushels, at average prices, which is about seventy-five cents per bushel.

A small alfalfa patch was sown in the colony as early as 1872 by P. W. Putnam, and Mr. Von Gohren was the first to put in a large field of it. But its cultivation received but little attention until J. Max. Clark wrote a series of papers for *The Colorado Farmer*, on its remarkable value as a forage plant. From that time its introduction became rapid, and it may here be mentioned that it was the reading of these letters that led J. Brisben Walker to purchase some 1,200 acres of land near Denver, and seed it all to alfalfa, from which he soon made a fortune, being now worth about $2,000,000, and at that date not worth more than $2,000. Of course, he made the most of this by the advance in the price of the land he bought, still he made a good start by supplying the Denver market with hay, and it may be said that alfalfa has revolutionized the hay market, and made purely hay lands of but little value. These are, perhaps, worth less per acre than when the colony settled here, while agricultural lands have advanced in price five-fold.

# CHAPTER XII.

HORTICULTURE AND NURSERY BUSINESS—EARLY EXPECTATIONS IN THESE LINES—FIRST ANNUAL REPORTS QUOTED—RESULTS IN GARDENING—NEED OF MANURE—DIFFICULTIES OF RAISING SMALL FRUITS—GLUT OF MARKETS—KUNER'S PICKLE FACTORY—FAILURES IN NURSERY BUSINESS—RAPID RISE IN THE PRICE OF TOWN LOTS FIRST YEAR—DECLINE AFTER AND CAUSES—THE GRASSHOPPERS—THEIR PERIOD—PREFERENCES FOR CERTAIN CROPS—WAYS IN WHICH THEY WERE FOUGHT—"TRIBUNE" ON THEIR RAVAGES—ARTICLE IN CHICAGO "TRIBUNE" QUOTED IN REFERENCE TO THEIR GENERAL RAVAGES IN 1875—SLOW RESTORATION OF CONFIDENCE AFTER THEIR DEPARTURE—N. C. MEEKER'S LAST WORDS TO THE FARMERS—IS NIAGARA BEFORE US?—REVIEW OF ABOVE—HIGH PRICE OF FARM LABOR—LARGE AND SMALL FARMS, PROFITS OF—GREELEY DISTINGUISHED BY SOMETHING BETTER THAN SIZE—MEEKER ON BOOMING THE TOWN.

THERE is but little doubt that twice as many of the first colonists expected to go into gardening, small fruit culture, and nursery business, etc., as intended to go into general farming. It had been held forth that the market would continue high for all products of this kind, and at the same time the yields would be enormous. In the first annual report of the colony, prepared by W. E. Pabor, we are informed that, "Ninety-seven bushels of wheat have been grown on one acre of land on the South Platte, within forty miles of Greeley." (Of course, as Hobbs says, forty miles off 'was only just back of Greeley.') "Oats have reached the same number of bushels, and Governor McCook is our authority for the statement that 250 bushels of onions have been raised on half an acre." (By the way, that last was not extraordinary, although our poet seems to have penned it with bated breath.)

"The average of crops may be thus stated: Wheat, 30 bushels; oats, 55; corn, 30; potatoes, 250; onions, 300; beans, 30; rutabagas, 30 tons; beets, 30 tons. These figures may be relied upon as *below* the *average*.

"At the Denver State Fair, this year, turnips were on exhibition, and curiosity impelled us to measure the largest; it was forty-two inches in circumference. Cabbages weighing fifty pounds are too common for special mention, and we can easily credit the story of the prudent housekeeper who sent her child to the market for the smallest head he could find, and came home bending under the weight of a forty-pounder.".

We confess it with humiliation that, on our gardens west of Greeley, we have seen acres of cabbage, three-fourths of which were too small to market, and, of those that were marketed, some were not bigger than a man's fist. We also find in Professor Cassiday's report from the Agricultural College, at which he filled the chair of horticulture, that the average size of the largest kind of late cabbage, on land highly manured, was less than seven pounds. This, too, is heavy clay land, well adapted to cabbage. We quote farther from Pabor's report:

"The time will come, and that in the not far distant future, when vast establishments for canning fruit will be scattered all over the Territory, and the berries of Colorado be the delight of the epicure, and the never-failing resource of the careful housewife, whose 'sweetmeat' days will be among the events of the past." Mr. Pabor says that he is "indebted in the main, for these facts, to William N. Byers, of *The News*." He also quotes W. R. Thomas as authority. This is taken from Governor McCook's address at the State Fair: "A savings bank" (that is the land) "crammed with riches since Noah's flood—and therefore ready to honor drafts to an unlimited amount; for irrigated land never wears out, as the experience of Eastern nations testifies."

Now, Robert Boyd is our most extensive market gardener. He shipped, last year, from his farm, thirty-five car-loads of cabbage and onions. He calls ten tons of cabbage about his average. He has a bottom farm about three miles west of Greeley. He puts on it all the manure he can get. He keeps a herd of cattle out on the plains in summer, and winters them on the farm for the manure. He informs me that he thinks of having sheep manure shipped from Carr Station, some forty miles, on the cars. He has a switch on his farm. This shows that even irrigated bottom land needs manure in Colorado; and of course upper bench land still more. It might be here said, in connection with the cabbage business, that the price is generally about fifty cents per hundred in the fall, and that it scarcely reaches $1 when kept to spring; that cabbage worm and cabbage lice are as bad here as anywhere, and that all injurious insects have now to be contended with the same as East, although this was not the case in the early days; and N. C. Meeker wrote an article to *The New York Tribune*, about our second year here, glorying in our exemption from all these pests, except the potato bug and locust.

Well, in reference to Greeley horticulture, we soon found that there was no market to speak of for vegetables. Denver was then a small city, and was supplied for the most part from the immediate vicinity. Small fruit sold well at first, but gradually declined, and last year's raspberries sold for 12½ cents a quart. The bushes have to be covered for the winter some six inches deep with dirt, and uncovered in the spring, which labor makes a crop at the above price unremunerative. Strawberries have also to be covered and the ground heavily manured, and many have stopped raising this fruit on account of the low prices prevailing a few years ago. As a consequence, the price became better last year. But it is easy to glut the market with any of these small fruits. Currants and gooseberries were an unsalable drug in the market last year, and the currant worm has destroyed all bushes of any age. Still, Greeley now aspires to the title of the "Garden City of Colorado," and it is true much gardening has been done here for the last dozen of years or so, and that irrigation, if you can only get enough of water, is far ahead of rainfall for either vegetables or small fruit.

A pickle factory was started here last year by the Kuner Brothers, and they got enough of cucumbers to last their trade some two or three years. Tomatoes they bought and shipped to Denver for canning, but lost many before they could be put up. So the firm will handle nothing of this kind here next summer.

The celery business is now attracting attention. It has been grown in considerable quantities for many years, but only for the state trade; but now it is thought that Colorado can easily supply the trade west of the Missouri river, since we can raise by irrigation, on our uplands, a superior article to that produced around Kalamazoo, Michigan. Likely a large area will be planted the coming season.

As for nursery business, it has been a failure, since fruit is a failure. All the early attempts in this line ruined the parties that undertook them. J. H. Foster persevered as long as he had a cent to experiment with. The grasshoppers in those days made matters worse. Mr. Meeker undertook both gardening and nursery business on a small scale, and failed in both. A. E. Gipson succeeded in so far as having his stock live and thrive, but the local sale was small, and his large stock of crab apples became unsalable after the blight attacked the crab apple orchards. He sold out last winter, and went to Denver to engage in the banking business, and his nursery, in which he took so much pride, and on which he expended so much enthusiasm, will soon be a thing of the past.

We started out by saying that many more intended to go into small fruit raising and gardening than did to engage in general farming, but the idea had soon to be abandoned for the most part, and those who did not wish to farm either left or went into some other business. As a result of this, the town lots and small parcels of land near town fell in value soon after the spring of 1871.

During the first year the rise in town property was quite marked, that is to say, compared with the prices charged by the colony to its members. This was $50 for corner lots and $25 for inside ones, wherever situated. The value of these varied very much, especially in the business part of town, so that some lots costing only $50 each in one year, were worth $1,000. Perhaps the average value of all business lots on Main street, in the spring of 1871, was $500, while some remoter, less favorably situated business lots were not worth much more than the original colony prices. The business lots remained about stationary for some eight years. Since that time they have steadily advanced, until lately the Union Bank purchased the two lots on which its present building stands, at $10,000. This is the highest figure at which we know of sales being made.

In regard to residence lots, there was a very decided falling off of values after the spring of 1871, and this depression lasted until about 1880. As an illustration, the writer bought, in the spring of 1871, an acre lot in the block where he lived for $300. In 1879 he bought the remaining acre lot of the same block for $125, and this latter lot was much better situated for building.

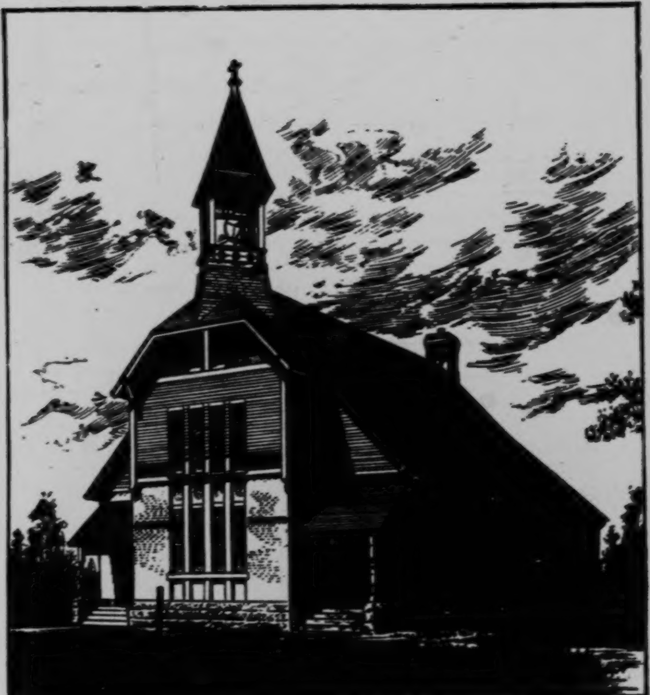
The reasons for the reduction in value of residence lots were, there were more lots sold by the colony than were needed to accommodate the inhabitants. The number of inhabitants decreased for a number of years; firstly, because many moved out of town to their farms; secondly, because many mechanics, who had found work during the rush of the first year's building, were thrown out of employment and moved elsewhere; and, thirdly, the revival of the growth of Evans, from causes which shall be related, drew away from Greeley many, especially old settlers and cattlemen, who would otherwise have made Greeley their home. In fine, the limited development attained in agriculture during the first seven years dwarfed the business of the town, and impaired its growth as a whole.

In regard to farming lands over the river, it may be said, there was no such rapid increase of value during the first year, and that values remained stationary, or nearly so, while the grasshoppers remained, and increased very slowly for some years afterwards. For a number of years good eighty-acre lots, not more than three or four miles from town, could be bought for $1,000, with water. This latter, however, was known to be insufficient until enlargements should be made by the farmers themselves, and the increased value for the first seven years was largely due to these enlargements of the canal.

We have spoken of the presence of the grasshoppers as one of the chief reasons for the low value of farming land during the time of their visitations, and here it were as well to relate our experience in regard to these pests.

When the colony came here, the people were informed that the country was liable to occasional inroads of these insects, but from former experience, it was to be expected that they would make their appearance only about once in five or seven years, and there was no reason to believe that their stay would be continuous, or renewed year after year. They had been here in 1867 and had done a good deal of damage where they found any crops in those days. There had been no farther visitation when we arrived here, nor was there until the autumn of 1872 when they came in considerable numbers, and laid their eggs, which hatched out the following spring, and destroyed much wheat. In the autumn of 1873 they appeared in still larger numbers, and earlier, destroying not only corn but late oats; and in the spring of 1874 they hatched out in still larger numbers. This continued until the autumn of 1876 when immigrants made their last voyage through the air to us, and in the spring of the following year only a few sickly ones hatched out, and these mostly died before they had time to get wings and fly away to pastures fresh and green in Kansas or Missouri.

With the flying ones that came from the northwest in the fall, little or nothing could be done on large farms, but a continuous smudge kept to windward of a garden might save it, and John Leavy in this way succeeded in saving some of his precious vegetables and flowers. But the main crops were usually harvested when they put in an appearance; and some crops they liked less well than others. They would leave a potato field alone if a field of corn was near it. Sorghum they had no taste for, and it matured uninjured when every other green thing around it was destroyed. They had a peculiar fondness for onions and resembled their human brethren in their partiality for tobacco. They preferred cabbages to tomatoes; in fact, unlike the potato beetle, had a contempt for the solanum genus of plants, while they delighted in its sister genus the nicotiana. But there was a time when it was doubtful whether the man or the locust was the fittest to survive on these plains, and had the race of locusts retained its pristine vigor there is no knowing to what extent its prodigious reproductiveness would have baffled our destructive ingenuity.



PARK CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.

But, by, I know not what, immoral conduct on its part, the vitality of the race became impaired, fewer young made their appearance, and these wasted away before maturity. That this decay of the vitality of the red-thighed migratory Rocky Mountain locust may continue until it becomes a species only known to history, "is a consummation devoutly to be wished," but through years of suffering it may be restored to its primitive energy and be enabled to re-enact for us the scenes of the last four years of the first century of the American Republic. However, some fourteen years have elapsed since it has been able to leave in any appreciable numbers its native breeding grounds in Dakota, Wyoming and Montana, and we have no signs of its recuperation. Though having a great liking for nearly every cultivated species of legume it turned aside in disdain from peas.

The writer having early observed these characteristic tastes in his enemy turned his attention principally to the cultivation of peas and sorghum. He discovered that sorghum was a very exhaustive crop, if it immediately preceded wheat, but that a fine crop of peas could be grown after it, and following that, a wheat crop twice as large as if it had followed the sorghum. The peas were fed to hogs and so in this way we partially out-generaled the grasshoppers.

But a more direct attack was made along the whole line against our evil angels before they had grown their wings. Fire, water, kerosene, coal tar, and various devices of traps were all used in ways too numerous to mention, and before the end of the four years' fight, we had learned how to meet the unfledged hordes at least on the borders of our fields, and hold them at bay until they got wings, when they preferred to retire immediately from the scene of their early conflicts.

An amusing incident occurred during the locust contest here in Greeley. A. Z. Salomon offered the best suit of clothes in his store to the man who would bring him in a million grasshoppers. John Templeton, a canny Scotchman, who was farming a place adjoining that of the writer, using a trap, caught what he estimated to be a million or over. He counted an ounce and weighed the rest. When he brought them in, about a bran sack full, Salomon refused to pay for them because they were dead. But nothing daunted, Templeton filled another sack with live ones, when the merchant insisted that he should count them. Templeton said that he would have to empty them out to do that, and as it was night this would have to be done in the clothing store. Then Salomon gave in, and the canny Scott thereafter went around Sundays in a suit of the finest blue broadcloth.

In some portions of the states east of here, the locust was more destructive than in Colorado. In the summer of 1875 they were the worst and created general apprehensions. The governor of Missouri appointed a day of fasting and prayer for the purpose of invoking divine aid in averting the plague. Bishop Clarkson, of Nebraska and Dakota, had a special form of prayer prepared for his diocese, to read at both morning and evening service for the summer of 1875, with especial reference to the locusts. We quote : "Grant us such deliverance from destructive insects, that the earth may in due time yield her increase for our use and benefit. * * Avert the dangers that threaten the harvest from the terrible scourge of the locust."

The issue of *The Greeley Tribune* for June 2nd of the above year, is principally devoted to the subject of the locust. It says, "During these days *The Greeley Tribune* is a grasshopper paper, and we mean to print all that is interesting on this subject, that those numbers may form a reference useful hereafter, and that our readers abroad may know how much of an obstacle the insect is to living in this country. The present record of destruction is : All gardens that were planted are destroyed, save peas and young corn. Currants and gooseberries have but a few leaves and their fruit buds are eaten out. Raspberries and blackberries that have been watered, and which are in a thrifty condition, are blossoming and will probably bear. Strawberries that were watered promptly will bear perhaps half a crop, and the fruit is now a quarter grown. Grapes are not injured to any great extent. Pie-plant is all eaten down. Most kinds of quite young forest trees have suffered badly, but the box elder, though badly trimmed, is pulling through triumphantly. People are now planting cucumbers, melons and squashes, with the hope of having gardens. Tomato, cabbage, and other plants are yet kept within doors or under glass. Captain Boyd has fought the grasshoppers successfully with his machine, but then he did not have the crowds others have had. Benjamin H. Eaton is fighting the enemy vigorously, and expects to save as much as two hundred acres of wheat. But as fast as the grasshoppers eat down a few acres, the plow is turned in, and corn is immediately planted. We must have as many as seven or eight inventors who have brought into use as many different kinds of machines for destroying the grasshoppers.

This same number also quotes an article from *The Chicago Tribune* on the "Grasshopper Plague." This is well worthy of preservation, both on account of its style and contents. So we give it :

"Will the grasshopper be a burden to the east, as it has been a curse and a pest to the west ? After floods, tornadoes, blizzards and the rigors of a winter projected far into spring, are we now to look forward to a summer whose green promises are to be blighted, and nipped down to the very roots by those lively travelers who were John the Baptist's favorite article of diet, washed down with wild honey. Having already eaten everything worth eating west of the Missouri, they have crossed it and are seeking new fields to conquer. It seems to be the universal testimony of grasshopper experts that these millions of billions of heads are all pointed this way, and that in a month or two at the latest they will settle down on the prairie farms of Eastern Iowa and Missouri, and cross the Mississippi into Illinois, Wisconsin, Indiana and Ohio, as the flies covered Egypt. The fine theories of the entomologists, that the severe cold of last winter would kill their eggs, seems to be thoroughly exploded. They have risen from their winter burial with immensely increased numbers, and the most vigorous appetites. There seems no reason to doubt that the crops which have been sown are destined only to be food for grasshoppers.

"Our reports show that Missouri is completely overrun with them. They have left the wheat fields bare, have stripped the fruit trees of leaves, buds and blossoms, and swept even the grass from the pastures, as if an army of mowers had been through them. The farmers are panic-stricken. The cattle are dying; even the earth in flower pots has resurrected clouds of them, and yet no power cometh to help us. The sprouting fields of grain in Nebraska have already been stripped bare to the earth. Millions have already made their appearance, and more millions yet remain in the ground to come out eventually. Kansas is in the same plight as Nebraska, and whatever the grasshoppers may happen to lèave, the chinch bugs are waiting for, which is not a very hopeful outlook for the corn. From Northwestern Iowa comes the same story, also from various portions of Minnesota. The prospect, therefore, is simply pitiful, and full of distress and discouragement for the farmer. It is an element of destruction against which he can make no provision. He cannot destroy the pests in sufficient numbers to materially reduce their ravages. He cannot relieve the situation by changing the crops, for nothing yet of a vegetable character has been discovered which the grasshoppers will not eat. He is condemned, after using all his energy and invention in destroying them at last to stand idly by, and see millions upon millions of them lay waste his acres and destroy his cereals, his grass and his fruit, leaving nothing in the fall for himself or his stock. The farmers have hitherto contested the situation with resolute courage. They have fought these insects with fire and water. They have gathered them into trenches, and crushed them by thousands with rollers. They have plowed in the eggs so deep as to make resurrection seem hopeless. They have turned in hogs and poultry to feed upon them; but all their efforts have been of no avail. Where one was killed a hundred came to the funeral. While the farmers fight them in one spot, the air becomes clouded with millions of new arrivals settling down in other spots. There is a small gleam of hope comes from Nebraska in the announcement that a small red bug has made its appearance there, and feeds upon hoppers in bulk, and is more than a match for every grasshopper he tackles. We are not inclined to place over much confidence in this bug story; at least until we have heard further details from him. As there are millions upon millions of grasshoppers to be eaten there must be millions upon millions of bugs to eat them. Even granting that the red bug may succeed in devouring the grasshopper, how can we tell that he may not turn about, and go to work on the crops next, for a bug that will eat a grasshopper is possessed of an appetite equal to devouring and digesting anything vegetable, animal or mineral? Again we are not informed as to the locomotive powers of this red bug. Your grasshopper is a good traveler and does not stop long at his way stations for refreshments. If it should happen, therefore, that the red bug is not a lively traveler, of course the grasshopper will not remain to be eaten, but pack up and leave his antagonist far in the rear. * * * Among all these thousands of sons and daughters of Ceres somebody should have wit enough to contrive some method of destroying them. What is done, however, must be done quickly. The vast army is headed this way. The buzzing of its wings will soon be heard all about us, and then in very truth he will be a burden, which must be borne with such equanimity and philosophy as can be summoned. It is evident that some antidote must be found, or else the victims must look out on their broad acres stripped bare, and console with that thinnest of all consolations, that everything was created for some good purpose."

Well, if the *red bug* did not do the business to any great extent, the ichneumon fly is generally credited by the entomologists with destroying or demoralizing our enemy. This insect seems to have the desired activity in getting around, and keeping up with its prey; not that it wanted the locust for its dinner, but only for a suitable nidus in which to lay its eggs. These hatched out, and became maggots in the backs of the hoppers, which soon took on a sickly look, and died in great numbers. This enemy attacked the young hoppers just before they got wings in the early part of the summer of 1876, and since then we have had no trouble to speak of. If this is the sole cause of the reduction of the numbers of the locusts, it may be expected that this fly will, ere long, fall before some enemy more powerful than itself, in the struggle for life which is going on in nature, "where each slays a slayer and in turn is slain," and that then the Rocky Mountain locust will again flourish for another cycle.

The disappearance of the locusts and the completion of the enlargement of Number Two canal happened about the same time, and from then we may date the commencement of the rapid progress of agriculture in the colony, and with it the town, which is the center of this agriculture. It is true that it took some years to restore confidence. We were every fall, for a number of years, fearing a return of the locusts; the matter of priority of rights to water had not been settled by statute, and when we did have abundant crops, the prices were low. These facts led N. C. Meeker, when he visited the colony for the last time in August, 1879, to write his famous article for *The Tribune*, "Is Niagara Before Us?" As these may be considered his last words to us, and, as they illustrate the situation near the close of the first decade of the history of the colony, they are appropriately inserted here:

"During the last week I had occasion to visit a wide portion of the farming region over the river, and, as two years had passed since I visited that section, and as previously my acquaintance with it and the settlers was certainly quite thorough, I think it important to state what have been the results, and to endeavor, if possible, to forecast what is to be the destiny of the proprietors and creators in the near future. In this connection I may add that a leading farmer gave me remarkably full particulars, and I have not the least reason to suppose that he exaggerates; the results are of the most astounding nature, and they are such as to cause profound reflection and discussion among political economists and statesmen, and also among all who in any way are interested in social science.

"Of course, all concerned in making a settlement of this valley, had great expectations, both as regards benefits to arise, and as regards success in making beautiful homes over the river, and elegant homes in this town, both being the exclusive property of one people; and probably no one anticipated a brighter future than the writer of these lines.

"And now it is to be said as to these expectations, that it seldom falls to the lot of mortal, short-seeing man in this uncertain world to have his hopes and views so completely realized—or, to tell the truth, carried out so far beyond what he had reason to expect, as is exhibited in the wide area of Greeley farms, and is actually beheld during the last week. I am sure I am a good judge of such things, for, in the way of duty and business, I have visited and critically examined the finest farm regions of our country, as in Central and Western New York, in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, and Illinois, and not excepting the fairest portions of the Southern States, and among all these I have nowhere beheld a more unexceptionable presentation—nowhere have seen wheat of greater average yield, corn of cleaner culture, potatoes of finer promise, clover of better stand; in short, I may say, that I have never seen the equal in clean and nice preparation, and in culture, wherever I went, and there was presented an unbroken and apparently boundless scene of the highest order—the result of intelligent rural industry. Further, it is to be especially noted, that all the work is performed by the aid of the latest and best labor-saving implements and devices; sulky plows turn the soil, seed drills do the work of many hands; combined reapers and binders cut the grain, and, in places, steam farm engines do the threshing, so that with all these appliances the work of perhaps a thousand human hands is cheaply performed, adding still more to the economies entering into the organization of the community itself. Let me not forget to add a few more things. That broad landscape is broken and enlivened by groves and lines of beautiful trees, many fruit trees now in bearing, imparting to the view such as one imagines is presented in the best parts of England, such as we have all seen in the old states, as the result of a hundred years' culture and growth. Everywhere beautiful streams of water skirt the fields and cross the roads. There are nice farm houses and cheerful homes. The schoolhouses are not absent, while from many a gentle swell of green or of gold one sees in the distant valley the town with its spires, as jewels set to adorn a gorgeous robe.

"Furthermore, the cultivators, the men who have worked these marvelous changes during a few years, are above the average in knowledge, not a few are scholars and cultured; habits almost Puritanical prevail, and the use of every kind of spirituous liquor is unknown, while so familiar and skilled have they become with the routine of their duties that everything is done at the proper time, and well done, nothing goes to ruin for want of attention and care; in short, if I wanted to find fault and to criticise, I should be unable to begin.

"I am sure I have drawn a pleasing picture; I am sure it cannot be so properly applied to any other region of America—no, not even in the whole world; and if reverses and disappointments had not crowded upon each other, and if human judgment and human estimates had not so often been seen to be unfounded and mistaken, there might be occasion for pride; and so it is that, although Mr. Lincoln's judgment as to what forms good poetry has been called in question, still I am bound to respect his admiration for the poem that inquires, 'Why should the spirit of mortal be proud?'

"For now we come to the reverse of the shield, and to see the other side of the picture, which is, unless my informant mistakes, notwithstanding all the economy, the skill, the intelligence, culture and temperance of the Greeley farmers, they are, so far from making money, actually running behind. His plain statement is, that most of the farms are mortgaged; that not enough is raised from year to year to support the families and clear the mortgages, and that the outlook is decidedly gloomy. The prospect seems to be that there must be a general change of owners, when, with a few hundred dollars, these now here will move off, and be succeeded by others, possibly more fortunate and successful ones. One farmer illustrates his condition by showing what his farm produced last year, when the yield was as good as ever can be expected and all the conditions were favorable, viz.: He had 1,200 bushels of wheat and 1,200 bushels of potatoes, for which he received $1,200, or an average of 50 cents per bushel. As a consequence, he ran behind, and failed to meet expenses by several hundred dollars. Of course, wheat and potatoes brought less than common, but so far from this being a satisfactory or reasonable explanation, it is the reverse; for it is declared that a man being engaged in wheat growing and having a family to support, cannot live in a comfortable manner and grow wheat for less than a dollar a bushel. Consequently, there was a loss on every bushel of twenty-five cents, and this, not counting in the value of the farmer's own labor at all.

"Now, as to the cost of keeping a family; it is said, and truly, that what twenty years ago were luxuries have now become necessities, and to expect an intelligent farmer's family to live on skim milk and mush, fat pork and potatoes, and wear shabby clothes is, if not out of the question, a thing that ought not to be expected either on a basis of justice or efficiency, because labor-saving machinery ought to secure to the farmer's family a good living, ought to allow him a good house and comfortable, decent clothing, as well as a little money to spend on concerts and lectures.

"I am going to take hold of the horns of this question, and see where the evils lie, that, if possible, a remedy may be applied. In the first place, agricultural machinery does not work for the farmer at all; it only increases production, and the same proportion passes into other hands, by the jugglery of commerce, as when grain was cut with a sickle, and the farmer must see that he totally fails to get as his own any part of this increase. Besides, it is a question worthy of careful consideration, whether there is much of any profit in the use of the great line of agricultural machinery—that is, to the farmer himself, not to take the wealth of the world, because we know that the world's wealth is amazingly increased thereby; and it is said that the manufacturers and laborers engaged in making this machinery have their lot cast in with the farmers, and that it is the money lenders, speculators, and railroad managers that gather in, at last, the profits of the harvests. I am not going to run any tilt against other classes, nor against merchants, nor lawyers; nor millers, nor manufacturers, nor I might say usurers, because we have been shown how crowds of them have gone to the dogs during the past few years, and that they are now really to be pitied; nor need anything be said against the accumulation of capital, because capital, or the representation of past labor, is the life-blood of the world; but let a protest be raised against the horrible injustice of farmers being obliged to sell crops for less money than they cost.

"One may say that all this is nothing new, and I say that the farmers, or grain growing class all over the country, are on the verge of bankruptcy. This is proved in England by a general and forced reduction of rents, and by the cloud of debt that hangs over the best block of farms in the world, Central Illinois. It is probably true that the farms between the Wabash and Pacific will not sell for what they are mortgaged. I know it is natural to say that farmers' wives want silk dresses, that their girls wear ten-button kid gloves, that they set extravagant tables and run into debt without considering whether they can pay, much of which is true; but it is equally true that not only farmers, but manufacturers, and all kinds of workers are fearfully taxed through commercial jugglery, to maintain thousands and millions of idle, dissolute creatures, in multitudes of cities, with their carriages, their theaters, their art exhibitions and their academies of music; and there is the whiskey business, that pours its thousand million dollars into the ocean of crime and death, all of which is a ghastly banquet grown and supported by the honest industry of the land. I know that these things belong to the great social questions, treated thousands of times, and they are not proper in this connection unless to show how industry may be disconnected from them, if such a thing be possible.

"It is becoming clear to several Greeley farmers that they cannot depend on wheat growing unless they have a mill of their own; but co-operation is in bad odor because the inefficient, hitherto, have crowded in as managers. Mr. McClellan is going to raise good horses, and has already made a good commencement. J. Max. Clark says he must change his business, and he, too, talks of horses. Let it be borne in mind that competition is always ruinous to crops that can be grown in a single season; for the men with small capital, limited skill and experience rush in and overdo the business. I have been pretty free with my advice for the last nine years, and I have said some things I wish had never been said, and I wish I could take them back, but one thing I do not want to take back; in fact, I will say it again. This is, let a farmer have no more land than he and his family can work. Hired help is a horse leech, both in the house and field; for with it the owner may work ever so hard, and he will be the worst paid of all his hands. There is a crowd of farmers over the river who can make from five to eight dollars per day by their own unassisted labor, if they were out of debt, and this because they are skillful, because they will remedy what another will not see requires a remedy, and because every hour's work they do drops into their own pocket. Then there is plenty of room for economy. A leading lawyer in Denver told me last week how he scalped a farmer who was loading into his wagon canned goods by the case. The lawyer told him that on his own lot of less than an acre he raised all kinds of vegetables and fruits, which his family canned, and they had an abundance of the choicest quality. Mr. Greeley used to tell of reporters who, when they got $10 a week, had no money at the end of the week; when they got $20 they had no more, and when they got $40 a week their pockets were still empty when Saturday night came. I was told of some farmers over the river who never hire, and I was not surprised to hear that they had money at interest."

While there is a strain of exaggeration occasionally runs through the above, both as regards the fair outward appearance of rural prosperity, and the general hollowness of it all at the bottom, yet it forcibly puts before us the situation of the farmers over the river at this time. The number of farms that were heavily mortgaged was undoubtedly overstated to Mr. Meeker by his informant, as was shown by a careful inquiry made shortly afterwards for the purpose of refuting this part of the above paper. When he has got his question by the horns, as he says, it must be owned that he flounders around with it a good deal in the dark; but he is quite right in stating that the invention of labor-saving machinery is no direct advantage to the farmer, as it cheapens production and so reduces the price of his products; and if the prices of all things along the whole line are not reduced, he may be only the worse off for the time being. At this particular time there was a rapid reduction in the price of wheat, chiefly owing to the general introduction of the self-binder into the great wheat districts of the northwest. Of course this reduction of prices of our principal staple bore most heavily upon those who had gone in debt for larger farms than they could cultivate with the help within their own families; and Mr. Meeker was a close enough observer to see where men had not stretched out beyond their reach they were doing well; in fact that instead of being in debt they had money in the bank. The high price of farm labor in Colorado, as compared with any other state in the Union, is one of the chief drawbacks upon profitable farming here. The principal reason, it appears to me, for this is that the two other chief industries of the state, mining and herding, on account of the hardships and exposures encountered in them, have to pay high wages, and this gives the tone to the wage market. Then again, much of the farm labor obtainable here is not only dear but unreliable. Herders and miners, when they seek occupation on the farm are usually about as good as no hands. Then there is the moving population, seeking work for a few days and willing to make any engagement when its stomach is empty or back bare, but when fed and clothed, ready to move on again regardless of any bargain it may have made. All this is, however, improving. The steady demand for help is bringing and keeping laborers that are more reliable. There is another reason, besides the one given, for help on the farm costing more by the month here. There is little or no occupation for either the farmer or his hired help during the winter, and if a hand can only get nine months work in the year he must have higher wages. The keeping of more stock and the hauling of manure is now changing this aspect of affairs also, and many farmers are beginning to keep hands the year round. Good men can rarely be secured in any other way; and a country where for three or four months there is enforced idleness, is sure to get into bad ways. It is demoralizing all around. Few know how to make a rational use of leisure, the greatest of blessings to him who can wisely apply it.

Various causes brought it about that no such disastrous results overtook the great majority of Union Colony farmers as the above article foreboded. Prices of our agricultural products had touched the nadir. The gradual reduction of prices along the whole line made the yearly expenditures less, and it was found that in a good year wheat could be raised at a profit at seventy-five cents per bushel. The number of small farmers who were doing principally their own work was greater than we might be led to expect from Mr. Meeker's article; and these have usually done well and saved money, where they were not raising large families of girls that had to be sent to school nine months in the year, or dude boys who, if they left the farm in their teens, greatly relieved the supposed head of it. Some who were doing well with their eighty-acre farm imprudently bought their neighbor's at high figures as these were now constantly advancing, but with varying results, sometimes coming out all right from under the load, at other times sinking under it but usually still under it able to pay interest; and not pushed by creditors, since the value of the security is steadily increasing. But in general, men who have undertaken to farm very extensively have not made money at it. Few have the ability to manage a large farm well anywhere, and fewer in a country dependent upon irrigation. If he is not a working farmer he needs a first-class foreman who works, and is hard to get; and if obtained, wants high wages on the start and higher every year. If he is a working farmer and manager in one, he will find that the large amount of business on his hands will force him to be away much of the time, and that things go on badly in his absence. Moreover the successful farmer needs to be something of both mechanic and machinist nowadays, and he also needs hands that understand the running and care of machinery; and these combinations of skill and ability do not always meet in any high degree. For the preceding six years the writer has farmed about 500 acres yearly, and on the average he has had less at the end of the year for his labor than one of his hired hands, if interest on total investment is added to other expenses and deducted from sales; while in addition to management he did more work, one year with another, than any man he employed. It is believed that few will say that his business has not been conducted with as much intelligence and skill as have been exhibited anywhere in the neighborhood, and he is not aware of any case in which farming on a large scale with hired help has proved remunerative. He has had under his observation the case of a farm of 640 acres contiguous to his own, belonging to Governor B. H. Eaton, and worked in one body by a renter for some nine years. This renter went into the business with but little capital, went into debt for teams and implements, which were covered, together with the crops of each season, with mortgages. He was trusted because of his known ability to manage men, and his more than usual good sense combined with pluck and push. Each year he sowed in hope, and if he did not harvest in disappointment when the final settlement for the year came, he invariably found himself no better off in the best years than he was at the beginning, and in the bad years much worse off. Once during the nine years a hail storm almost totally destroyed his crops, which was about his average share of that kind of disaster. After farming seven years he was unable to meet obligations, and his property went into the hands of his creditors. The business was carried on in his wife's name for another year with no better results. Last year only half of the farm was undertaken by him, and now he says that he is going permanently out of the business. That in general he knows how to run a business and make it pay, is to be inferred from the fact that for a number of years he has threshed each fall and made money in the face of the close competition now going on in that business. It might here be added that Governor Eaton, who is an extensive renter of land, has come to the conclusion that it will not do to rent more than one hundred and sixty acres to one party, except in rare cases.

Of course some men who bought or entered large bodies of land have done well, but it is from the rise in the values of land rather than from wealth made from farming the same. But it will be asked why do prices go up if farming is not profitable? The answer is, that it is fairly remunerative on a small scale, and a man who with his family likes rural life will perhaps do as well here on a farm of 160 acres as he will anywhere in the United States. I know of a number of young men who commenced with little or nothing and are now well off, having farms of 160 acres all paid for, and are now laying up money. I might here instance Charles Mason, who came here about twelve years ago, commenced farming on shares, soon purchased a fine eighty-acre tract for $2,000, has had it paid for long ago, has put up barn and other out-houses worth $3,000, and has lately purchased a neighboring eighty-acre lot for $6,500, the improvements, aside from water-rights and ditches, not being worth more than $500. This shows how the price of land has advanced in the last ten years. Mr. Mason has raised almost exclusively wheat and potatoes. He hauls every winter large quantities of manure for his land to keep up its failing fertility, though his soil is one of the best and he plows beam deep. All farms in his vicinity, which is three miles directly north of town, may be considered worth seventy-five dollars per acre, not taking into account improvements other than water or ditches. Few good farms under Union Colony Number Two canal can be purchased for less than fifty dollars per acre whatever their distance from town, and this latter consideration is an important one when a large area is cultivated in potatoes, on account of moving the crop to the railroad station.

Great changes and mostly progressive ones have taken place in and around Greeley since the bright, benevolent, mild blue eyes of its philanthropic founder last so delightedly beheld it. When he wrote the above from Pisgah heights he had a vision rather of "the wonders that would be" than the actual reality so far realized. If he could then see "from many a gentle swell of green or gold in the distant valley the town with its spires as jewels set to adorn a gorgeous robe," how fair would this city of his heart, the child of his imagination, now appear, with the added beauty and glory of the last ten years? Greeley is never likely to approach the gigantic proportions which the imagination of the founder predicted for her. Writing in the New Year's number of *The Tribune*, 1873, he says: "From these facts we are confident that Greeley is destined to be a city only second to Denver, and we have not the least doubt that many of the children now living will see this a city of 100,000 inhabitants."

The writer entertains no such sanguine expectations. But Greeley a much smaller city than that may become more distinguished for far other characteristics than largeness. She has, in fact, already become so distinguished, and it is now largely a question of continuing in the course so promisingly entered upon, and any rapid increase of population is likely to seriously endanger progress in the direction of what we consider her crowning glory. Let her remain small, a gem on the bosom of the prairie, a cluster of beautiful homes, a refuge for the weary, a safe asylum for him who flees from the temptations and seductions of great cities! And if we may hope that his spirit, here so worn and weary, but now released and joyous, can behold the struggle, strife, and tears, the partial victory of right, here below, we doubt not that no growth in mere numbers in the city which he planted and watered would so delight him as the growth of the principles he strove to have established here. Let us then strive to maintain and spread these principles rather than make feverish efforts towards bringing about an immature growth; let this be as it has been, a natural one. Booms often turn out boomerangs. These forced growths benefit no one save real estate brokers who can find a wide enough field, surely elsewhere.

Mr. Meeker early saw this, and says in *The Tribune*, August 30, 1871:

"As to writing up Greeley in rosy colors, and beyond what the facts justify, for the purpose of keeping up the excitement, we shall do no such thing. We understand perfectly well that these men have real estate to sell and that it is not they who have done anything to make it worth a fraction of what they ask for it. This is an industrial community, and dead beats and idlers are not going to get the start of men of intelligence and thought, and these ask no odds of men who idle away the summer."

## CHAPTER XIII.

EVANS—COUNTY SEAT STRUGGLE—THE TWO DECADES IN THE TOWN OF GREELEY'S CAREER—EVANS AT THE TIME THE COLONY SETTLED HERE—JAMES PINKERTON, FOUNDER OF EVANS, REDIVIVUS—VOTE ON MOVING THE COUNTY SEAT IN 1872—VOTE AGAIN IN 1874—RESULT CONTESTED BY EVANS IN COURT—IN 1875 GOES BACK TO EVANS—THE LUPTON VOTE LEFT OUT—COMES BACK TO GREELEY IN 1877, BUT IS CONTESTED IN COURT AGAIN BY EVANS, BUT INEFFECTUALLY—EVANS BECOMES BANKRUPT AS A COLONY IN 1874—WHY GREELEY OUTSTRIPPED EVANS IN THE RACE—JUDGE KELLEY ON THE TWO TOWNS, IN "PHILADELPHIA PRESS," 1871—OTHER CAUSES THAN TEMPERANCE ALSO CONTRIBUTE TO OUR SUCCESS AND THEIR FAILURE—WHAT DIFFERENCE TEMPERANCE REALLY MADE—GREELEY PURITANISM.

THE life of this town is naturally divided into two decades; the first virtually terminated at the death of N. C. Meeker. The first was the period of strife, struggle, experiment; of more or less of doubt and uncertainty; the last of fruition, attainment, definite realization and confident hope. Both have been periods of progress, but this was impeded by the various causes already related, and some others yet to be told.

One of these struggles was for the county seat, and this leads us to speak of our little sister Evans. As already mentioned, Evans was a railroad terminus town when the colony settled here, and was dwindling into insignificance in the shadow of her neighbor, which had grown like Jonah's gourd during the summer of 1870. But it happened that James Pinkerton, an old settler, had joined the colony, and had been elected one of the trustees in place of Daniel Witter, of Denver, resigned. He was friendly to the temperance cause, but differed with the other leaders in some matters, and especially with Mr. Meeker, and about the running at large of cattle upon the colony lands. Mr. Pinkerton was a positive man, as was also Mr. Meeker, who was, in this case, backed by at least all the farming part of the community. The result was that this gentleman withdrew from Union Colony, and started one of his own—headquarters at Evans—on purpose to cripple and, if possible, to ruin Greeley. He organized what was called the St. Louis Colony, getting most of his recruits from

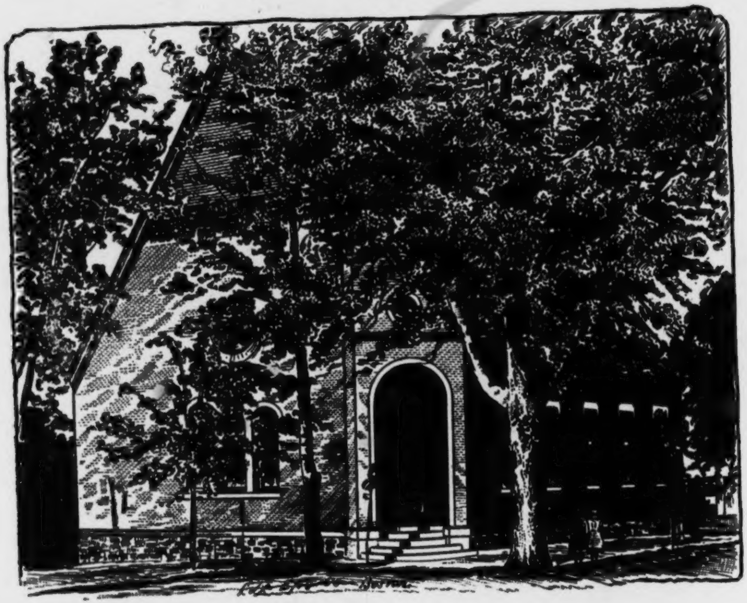
Southern Illinois, but depending chiefly upon members joining from the old settlers who were as a body, as we have seen, hostile to the colony. In many things he imitated the organization of Union Colony; but, although a temperance man, and many, especially the Covenanters, who joined the colony from Illinois, were also staunch temperance men, yet they did not see fit to put a forfeiture clause in the deeds. Likely, it was not possible, as the colony could get possession of only a part of the town site. The result has been a steady, but usually unsuccessful fight with the rum power, and this has been one of the causes that has injuriously affected temperance as a practice in Greeley.

The county seat was at Evans when the colony settled here, but it was only a question of no long time when this would drop into our lap, if it had not been for Mr. Pinkerton's movement. Not only was Evans to assume an importance equal to Greeley, but by getting as many as possible from different parts of the county to take stock, both their votes and influence were expected to keep the county seat at Evans.

The first attempt to get it to Greeley was made at the September election in 1872. There had been a vote for railroad bonds the summer before, which revealed the fact that out of an entire vote of the county of not much over 800, Greeley had 300. It was only necessary to have a few over 100 outside of Greeley vote for us, and we would have the county seat. In order to secure this result it was agreed that Greeley men would ask none of the county offices. But when the delegates met, three offices were offered to Greeley men, but our delegates, save one, voted against the nominees from Greeley, who were, nevertheless, nominated by the Republican convention. The whole affair got badly mixed, as the Republican convention had condemned Horace Greeley as a Presidential candidate, while *The Greeley Tribune* put him at the head of its ticket, and in addition put the Territorial and county Liberal-Democratic combined ticket below. The result so far as county seat was concerned was that we lost the county seat by 132. The only precinct outside of the colony fence that gave us a majority was Green City, whose vote was 22 to 19. Erie gave a solid vote of 103 against us. The total vote of the county was about 1,000, instead of 800, at the election for bonds. The vote in the town precinct of Greeley was 340, while the Poudre precinct within the colony was 38. Evans' vote was 217.

The next attempt to get the county seat was made at the fall election of 1874, and this time successfully. The majority, however, was small, being only 14. The total vote of Greeley was 439, Evans 194, a falling away in Evans and gain of nearly 100 in Greeley in two years. The change that took place in the vote of Erie gave us the victory. Before it was all against us. Now it stood—81 Greeley, 14 Evans. This was brought about in no honorable way. The rioters of Erie had been tried and convicted, or about to be convicted at Evans, and a change of *venue* to Greeley cleared them; and this gave us the miners' vote. But this was the only precinct outside the colony which gave us a majority. Still the majorities against us in many precincts were reduced. Green City reversed its majority of three, being 27 to 30. Each town had done its best, Evans having built what it called a county court house, but it belonged to a corporation and was under mortgage. Greeley bound itself to furnish free court room and offices to the county for five years. But Evans disputed the removal of the county seat on the ground that Greeley had not a majority of all the votes cast at the election, some who voted for other purposes not voting on the county seat question. The County Attorney, S. B. A. Haynes, gave the opinion that the construction should be the highest vote cast at the election for any one purpose, and that was for county seat. The case was argued before the county commissioners, Greeley employing Henry M. Teller, and the commissioners moved the books, papers, etc., of the county to Greeley. The people of Evans resisted the removal of the vault doors, which belonged to the county and were to be used in the new vault built in Greeley, and a writ of replevin had to be taken out to get them. At this juncture the Hon. J. L. Brush, who was one of the commissioners, made himself particularly obnoxious to the people of Evans on account of the promptness and dispatch with which he made affairs move in removing the property of the county.

Evans then brings a writ of mandamus into the District Court, fall term, to order the commissioners to take the county property back to Evans. The case is argued by the firm of Blake, Miller & Markham for Evans, and by Judge Haynes and Mr. Teller for Greeley. Judge Wells is on the bench, and the case is deemed so important that he takes three days to consider before he delivers his decision, which was however only upon the form of the writ, which was held to be defective, and that the plaintiffs should have until the April term of the court to amend. The cause came up again before Judge Brazee in Denver, but was again not argued upon its merits, but upon technical defects, it being now held by our counsel that it was amended too much—that is, that it now covered other ground than that of the original writ, and this was sustained. It was appealed to the Supreme Court by Evans. But it was soon to appear on a broader arena. The



UNITARIAN CHURCH.

question was again to be submitted to the people. Meantime Greeley had built a jail at a cost of $2,000 and donated it to the county; also the lots on which the court house now stands, while the town board had entered into a contract with the county commissioners to furnish free court room and offices for five years.

At this juncture there appeared in *The Greeley Tribune* from the pen of the editor, an article which put the affair in its true light, and the part of it which predicted the outcome of the struggle has been literally fulfilled. After taking instances of rival cities in the United States which had competed for years for the mastery, and showing that when one of the two contestants really got the lead it never lost it, and that the other dwindled into comparative insignificance, he shows this to be the case with Greeley and Evans.

"Now, in speaking for Greeley, we do not wish to boast in the least; we simply present facts for the consideration of the people of Weld county. The settlement of Greeley was made on a bare plain, with not a single inhabitant, when Evans had a large number of houses and several hundreds of people. It is true that shortly after it declined, mainly because the railroad was extended; but when the St. Louis colony came it revived, and presently it became a nice town, but it never equaled what Greeley became during the first year, while the difference between the two places has been steadily maintained, and although Evans has been the county seat until the last year, it was wholly unable to compete with its rival either in business, population or enterprise. This is the simple fact of the case, well known to the people of the county, and we have yet heard no argument that can lead any one to suppose that Evans is ever to become the equal of Greeley, while on the contrary, the illustrations cited above must lead to the conclusion that the superiority which Greeley possesses must increase until, in quite a short time, the struggle will be forever relinquished. It would seem, therefore, that for the voters of Weld county to return the county seat to Evans, after having once located it in Greeley, is to unsettle values and to prolong a contest that in the end can have but one result."

But to hold the county seat at all hazards was the policy of Evans. It had fallen behind even with the county seat, and it was seen that without it the town must soon shrivel into utter insignificance. The founder of the town, J. H. Pinkerton, having failed at every point, had left and gone into the San Juan country to seek a new fortune in that region of recently developed mineral wealth, and from henceforth disappears from the political arena of Weld county. McCutcheon now becomes the leader, soon to go under with the place which he champions.

But for the present there was a temporary victory for Evans. This was chiefly caused by the reversal of the majority at Erie. It now gave Evans 86, Greeley 34. This was, of course, where Erie naturally belonged. The vote of the year before was obtained by a piece of bad trickery on our part, and now we suffered the natural consequences. It is further to be noted that the vote of both Greeley and Evans is less than that of a year before. This was the worst year of the grasshopper plague we had experienced, and it told especially on the most agricultural communities.

But at the first it appeared that Greeley was still to have the county seat. The returns from Lupton had been sent in the ballot-box to the board of county canvassers, instead of separately, as they ought to have been. The box was locked, and there was no information sent that the returns were there. So the canvassers proceeded to count the vote, leaving Lupton out, which gave Greeley about forty majority. The news reached Evans, and word was sent to Lupton by the evening train, and one of the judges of election came twenty-six miles to Greeley on a hand-car, but the county clerk could not be found, and the board of canvassers had adjourned *sine die*. Of course the honest and square thing to have done would have been for the county clerk to have notified Lupton that its returns were not in, and to have given time to hear from the judges of election of the precinct. But our men seem to have gone on the principle that all things are fair in war and politics.

A demand was made that the vote be again canvassed, and the county commissioners met and heard legal arguments for both sides, when it was agreed to re-canvass, and, on the admission of Lupton's returns, Evans had about a majority of forty. During this canvass the town was full of men from every precinct in the county, and said to have plenty of arms in wagons all over town, so as to force, if need be, the commissioners to count the vote of Lupton. But good order prevailed and justice also.

It is here to be said that many, perhaps most, of the people of Greeley were opposed to this trick, and that the editor of *The Tribune* was among the number. It is quite likely that it never would have been resorted to if Evans, the year before, had not taken advantage of what the people here considered a technicality in their favor to upset the will of the majority of the people of the county in this matter.

The affair was now allowed to rest for two years, when the battle was again renewed. Some sixty of the leading men of Greeley pledged themselves to furnish the county with all the necessary buildings for five years free of expense, while the last year had cost it at Evans several hundred dollars. The result of the vote now in 1877 was 64 majority for Greeley. Erie again reverses its majority, being 71 for Greeley, 38 for Evans. We also get a majority of the vote of the new town of Sterling. Our vote is 414, Evans 202. But the result is again contested by Evans on the grounds that the constitution prohibits an election being held on this subject oftener than once in four years, and secondly, that the same instrument forbids the passage by the legislature of special laws, and that the general law on the subject requires a two-thirds vote to change a county seat, while Weld and a few other counties were excepted from this rule, a simple majority in them being all that was required.

When the commissioners met, the people of Evans argued that the former had no right to move the county seat; they, therefore, obtained a temporary injunction restraining them from doing so. This was argued before Judge Elliott, Hugh Butler for Evans and Major Smith for Greeley, and the issue turned on the technicality of whether there was any law on the subject of moving a county seat in force in Colorado. The result was that the temporary injunction was dissolved and the county seat removed to Greeley, this time to stay. Evans now gave up the fight.

But the question was revived in the Supreme Court by a similar case brought up by Grand county in 1882, when the Court gave a decision which would have been adverse to Greeley, and would also have affected Chaffee county. Hence a rehearing was asked, and granted by the Court, when counsel was present for all three counties, and Greeley was represented by H. N. Haynes and Thomas Macon, and after due time the original decision was reversed, which was that there was no statute in force, by which an election could be held changing a county seat, from the adoption of the constitution to the law passed on the subject in 1881.

From the permanent removal of the county seat Evans ceased to be a rival, and better feelings gradually began to prevail. The St. Louis Colony, as a corporate body, had ceased to exist, being sold out in the month of April, 1874, and the main ditch, which was to water the colony lands south of town, fell into the hands of McCutcheon & Martin, and never paid more than running expenses. As an agricultural colonial experiment Evans was a failure. Why we have succeeded and they failed is worthy of our consideration.

Wm. D. Kelley, then member of congress, afterward U. S. Senator, wrote to *The Philadelphia Press*, November 13, 1871, a letter on "Co-operative Colonies." In this he contrasts Greeley and Evans, as follows:

"Between the St. Louis Western and all the other colonies there are differences worthy of note. It does not, and the others do, make temperance a prerequisite to membership, or convey its lots subject to a covenant that intoxicating beverages shall never be manufactured or sold thereon. The founders of the other colonies hope to protect themselves against the idleness, improvidence, poverty and crime engendered by the drinking usages of society, and to accomplish this end impose legal restraints upon themselves and those who may abide with them; but the members of the St. Louis Western believe in the largest liberty and invite settlement and commerce by permitting every branch of manufacture and trade to be pursued within its territorial limits. Evans has its saloons and beer-shops. Greeley has none. The Puritanism of the Greeleyites is a jest and a by-word in the neighboring town. If the taxes and habits of the people, police requirements, etc., of Evans, shall differ essentially from those of Greeley, the contrast will be mainly ascribable to these few organic laws of the colonies, inasmuch as their locations and general capacity for agriculture, manufactories and commerce are in my judgment absolutely equal.

"Greeley has somewhat the start in numbers, but not largely. Which has the better location I cannot guess. The towns are both on the Denver Pacific road, and but four miles apart. It requires but a brief stay in each town to satisfy one that the people of each expect to enjoy the trade of a larger portion of the Platte valley than the other, and to compete successfully for the business of the valleys of the St. Vrain, the Big Thompson, the Little Thompson and the Cache la Poudre. The characteristics of the soil and climate throughout the territory of the two colonies are identical, as the lands must be contiguous at some point or points. It is not often that neighboring towns start out with such entire coincidence of time and natural advantages, that the fact that the inhabitants of the one *may* and those of the others *may not* manufacture or sell intoxicating beverages constitutes the only essential distinction between them. A few years will disclose the results of each system; but I venture the prediction that "King Alcohol" will prove as unruly a tyrant and exorbitant a tax-gatherer as he does elsewhere. If so, the contrast presented by the colonies will be easily traced to their causes."

We might here say, "Behold the fulfillment of Senator Kelley's predictions!" But common honesty compels us to admit that other considerations besides the temperance principles of the one community and their absence in the other. The resemblances were quite obvious to a cursory observer, but the differences of the situations were indeed very marked, when one comes to study carefully all the particulars. The old settlers who took memberships at $150 apiece did not settle in Evans to any great extent, having better claims on the streams upon whose banks they were living, and so, pretty much all they helped was in the way of money. But the greatest difference lay in the character of the land bought or controlled by the members of the two colonies. The body of land lying south of Evans, and watered by their Number Two canal, did not compare with that under Union Colony Canal Number Two. The greater part of it, especially that near the town, was quite sandy, and at the same time it does not seem to be adapted to potato culture. It farther appears that no such large number of their colonists went out on their farms or undertook farming in earnest as among us. A few, like Rev. Mr. Todd, undertook farming on a large scale, while living in town, and made a failure. Then, when the colony got into a pinch, the farmers did not come to the rescue and enlarge the ditch and get the control of it, but allowed it to be sold out, and thus they became renters of water, and never could take the lively interest in affairs that the owners did. The few that undertook farming around Evans were singularly deficient in the wide-awakeness, push, energy, courage, ability to meet new emergencies, fertility of invention, and richness in expedients, which characterized Greeley farmers. Who among them wrote on topics connected with their profession; who among their scholars and thinkers, if they had any, took hold of the plow, or the irrigating shovel, disregarding toil, muddy feet, coarse, soil-stained garments? The Evans colony failed much more as a country than as a town, but failing in the one the other failure had to follow. Their politicians were a match, and perhaps more than a match for ours. Their shop-keepers knew just as much as ours about selling tape, ribbons and candies, but neither one class nor the other can build up a country. It is true that the town of Greeley is distinguished for its elegant, beautiful, comfortable homes, but the basis of all this is the successful agriculture of the surrounding country. Had the ditches not been enlarged by the farmers, the grasshoppers successfully resisted, the chaos of conflicting claims to water not been reduced to order, the mushroom town of 1870, built from the savings of other days and other lands, would have shriveled away like Jonah's gourd in the parching sunshine. That Evans did not become more insignificant sooner, was due to the trade from settlements, not of the colony's making. The site of the town was well enough, perhaps better than that of Greeley, but her colony lands were inferior and those who undertook to farm them more inferior still. But all of these things James H. Pinkerton selected deliberately, soil and cultivators of it and citizens to crush and ruin Union Colony, and his failure was as signal as it well could be.

And there was a part, and a good part too, of our success and Evans' failure due to the temperance or rather the prohibition of the one place and the licensing of intoxicating liquors in the other. The number of men of moderate means or of no means to speak of, who by steady industry among us have built themselves neat, comfortable homes which they own, have reared and highly educated large families, is very great, and is one of the things we should be most proud of, and which could prevail to no such extent in a drinking community. But the temperance which has done so much for the town is more genuinely and proportionately characteristic of the farmers, and without it they must have succumbed to the difficulties we have enumated. Mr. Pinkerton was a temperance man, and many other excellent citizens of Evans were temperance men, but they cared less for it than success and mere numbers, and they carelessly received all comers, who at length out-voted them and opened the saloons. N. C. Meeker invited only temperance men to join him in founding a colony, saying plainly none else need apply. Unhappily, to our disgrace, some few did apply and many more have crept in, but still we are, I believe prohibition more than ten to one, and the influence of so good a beginning is likely to continue after the founders of the colony are dead and mostly forgotten. I say *founders*, for all of us who answered the call of "Father Meeker" in good faith were co-workers with him, and many of us have been privileged to continue the work which he projected and was called away from, all too soon. Yes, we worked together. Co-operation in certain directions was as much of a policy of the originator of the colonial scheme as temperance. Much as we did meet together and discuss questions of policy, and differ, yet when a plan of operations was settled upon, we followed it out with singular unanimity. We did not waste our substance in litigation. It is singular that no colonist ever brought a suit against the colony for the first ten years of its existence—a period beset with so many heart-burning, strife-breeding situations. We have been charged with being Puritanical. Perhaps we were, and our attitude on the rum question was like that of the Puritans of New England on the question of saving grace. Like them, we had come to a wilderness to establish certain cherished principles. Like them, we invited none others to join us. If any had the impudence to do so, and to make an attempt to subvert our principles, we did by them pretty much as the Puritans did by the Quakers and Baptists. But the great difference was that we only suppressed certain practices relating to affairs of this known present life, while they interfered with opinion relating to life in the unknown hereafter. It is true that we refuse to listen to arguments defending practices generally tolerated the world over; that we hold saloon-keepers to be no better entitled to a hearing than a keeper of a house of prostitution, and that both practices are alike infamous; and we have never seen the argument that can convince us that drunkenness is less degrading than excessive sexual indulgence. The door to either house is the gate of hell. Those who appreciate privileges of either kind can find them in abundance elsewhere. The truth is, our prosperity has invited all sorts of people to come and live here for the gain that may be gotten, and some of these bring with them the habits engendered by former indulgences. We put them to great straits and inconveniences in procuring these indulgences; and they are usually much annoyed. They do not mix in with us any more than water and oil mix. However, most of the people who have come of later years have been attracted here because we were a temperance people, and there is no such distinction as old and new comers in society or manners.

# CHAPTER XIV.

OTHER COLONIES IMITATIONS OF UNION COLONY—CHICAGO OR LONGMONT COLONY—FOUNTAIN COLONY, OR COLORADO SPRINGS—THE AGRICULTURAL COLONY AT FORT COLLINS—GREEN CITY, OR SOUTHWESTERN COLONY—BANCROFT'S MISSTATEMENTS ABOUT GREEN CITY—MR. CAGE'S CAREER IN CONNECTION WITH "GREEN CITY."

IN connection with the county seat we have sketched the career of one colony, started as a rival, but still at the same time at the start in some things a close imitation of Union Colony. It will be worth while to pass in review the other colonies that followed as closely as possible the example of ours. The first in order of time was the Chicago Colony.

This was organized in the city whose name it bears, near the end of 1870, and both N. C. Meeker and General Cameron were present at its first important meeting, and helped at its organization. It was a close imitation of ours. It had a prohibitory liquor clause in its deeds, but these became futile after the breaking up of the corporate organization, which happened in less than three years after its formation. It became financially embarrassed, and was unable to build the ditches it had projected. This the persons who had taken farming lands contracted by the colony did, or rather a part of them. The most important of their ditches was Highland Lake. This was built by a few farmers under the lead of L. C. Mead, and there was a hard struggle and much contention. The water was in the hands of a few stockholders, the rest of the farmers renting by the year from these. The law passed in 1879 remedied this difficulty, by putting the power of fixing the price in the hands of the County Commissioners, when there was a dispute between ditch owners and renters of water. It was at the instance of the parties taking water from this Highland Lake ditch that this provision was put in the law by the committee that drafted the original bill, this having already become a burning question there, while it did not affect the farmers in the Poudre Valley who owned the ditches that water their lands.

One reason why Longmont Colony did not hold together was because it had no recognized head, at least on the ground. Its first president was the celebrated Unitarian preacher, Robert Collyer, who never intended to come here to stay. He expected to spend his summer vacations here, but of course that would have been of no use in the way of meeting the pressing emergencies that were sure to be arising nearly every day. There were besides him a number of Chicago men of wealth and standing, but none of whom came and stayed with the colony. It was said that they intended to build here and spend part of the summer, but they did not, and it would have been of but little use if they had. All this was very different from what our leaders did. They put every cent which they were worth in the world right into the colony at the start, and stayed with it, two of them at least, through thick and thin, until it was well on its feet. Then there was much more unanimity among our people than there was among the people of the Chicago Colony. As a people they seem to have had no great leading principle to rally around. Their adhesion to prohibition seems to have been only half-hearted. It was but a short time after the settlement was made, until one of their papers commenced to advocate the opening of saloons for financial reasons. No one has had the audacity to do this in any public way in Greeley. The man who should undertake it even to-day would not be likely to escape being mobbed, so intolerant are we still on this subject, and so may we ever remain. It has become a sort of pride with this people, and it has been for us a point to rally around, and has served us as a common religious belief has often served other communities.

In all this we do not mean to say that Longmont, as a town, or that the farming country around it has not prospered. Yet, as a town, it is quite different, and its attitude on the liquor question has been equivocal. The farming country had its conflict like ours, and has at length conquered. In many respects it is ahead of ours under "Number Two." On an average the farmers have better houses and barns than ours. One reason why this is comes from the fact that many of our farmers that are well-to-do live in town. The relation between the town and country has always been a close one. All the farmers had originally lots in town, and many still held on to them when they moved out to the front, and then returned when they could afford it, while some never moved their families out. They preferred to give their wives and children the social and school advantages of the town, if they did make less material wealth. With them money was not the sole good thing worth seeking after.

It appears that one reason for the failure of all the agricultural colonies that followed our lead was insufficient funds, and that arose from the absurd notion that $150 was enough to start a farm with in a country where great expenditures had to be made in advance for irrigating canals. The only reason that I can see for adopting this particular figure by N. C. Meeker was that this sum would buy 160 acres at 90 cents per acre, a price for which it will be seen he expected to be able to buy Agricultural College scrip. We have seen that his constitution made no provision for expenditures for irrigation works, and that upon this rock we all but foundered. Yet this sum, as the price of membership, was blindly followed by all the colonies, and on it they went to pieces.

We have now to review the course of another colony in some important respects quite different from ours, but in the most essential quite similar. I refer to the Fountain Colony that founded Colorado Springs. It was unlike ours in this, that there was no intention to make agriculture the basis of support of the town. The prime object here was to found a town as a pleasure and health resort. The natural beauty of the scenery, the proximity of Pike's Peak, and the nearness of the mineral springs of Manitou, made this possible. The management was in a corporation connected with the railroad, which held half the lots of the town for its own benefit, selling the other half to settlers at nominal figures, about the same as Greeley town lots. The incorporators had a forfeiture clause put in the deeds like those of Greeley, and the corporation, like our own, is yet in existence, while temperance is maintained perhaps less stringently than with us, the drug stores not being so closely restricted about selling for medicinal purposes. Several prosecutions have been carried through the courts for the forfeiture of property, upon which liquor was sold contrary to the stipulation in the deeds, and some of them carried through the United States Supreme Court, to which they had been appealed, and the forfeiture there sustained. To-day Colorado Springs stands at our side, the only one of the towns that imitated our example in prohibition. All the others have gone like the dog back to their vomit. In her beauty she equals us, and in her size she excels us. Some years ago I was showing a gentleman our town and surrounding country. He was by no means a total abstainer. But he remarked, as I left him off at the "Oasis Hotel," "The two most beautiful and prosperous places in Colorado are Greeley and Colorado Springs, and I can account for it in no other way than it comes from your prohibition of saloons." It was but last summer that the able manager of the "Colorado Mortgage and Investment Company of London" said to me, "There are but two places outside of Denver in Colorado fit to live in, and those are Greeley and Colorado Springs."

After General Cameron got through with his work for "Fountain Colony," he and B. H. Eaton, John C. Abbott, J. L. Brush, and W.

E. Pabor, all Greeley parties, united with Fort Collins parties and formed the "Agricultural Colony" to build up the town of Fort Collins and develop the country around it. At this time the town was an insignificant affair, and cultivation was confined to the first bottom. But although the above gentlemen were all much in favor of prohibition, it was found impossible to get control of the whole town site and thus be able to put forfeiture clauses in all the deeds. As a result, Fort Collins has gone about the same way as Evans in regard to the liquor traffic. The forces for and against license are nearly balanced. So, whiles they have high license, whiles low license, and occasionally prohibition. General Cameron was one of the board of the newly organized town in the spring of 1872, and he offered a resolution, which was adopted, to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors.

These gentlemen took steps to secure the location of the Agricultural College at Fort Collins, and procured for the state a donation of land for its site. This was a prize which N. C. Meeker had set his heart on obtaining for Greeley, but which was now wrested from her, chiefly through the influence of Greeley men.

B. H. Eaton was in the higher branch of the Territorial Legislature, which met the coming winter, and Fort Collins had Mr. Stover in the other. We had all we could attend to to get our first imperfect Fence Bill through, a measure for the securing of which we had to give up every other local consideration. But we have always considered it more unfortunate for the college than for us that it was not located here. I suppose if our good temperance men had known that whiskey could not have been kept out of Fort Collins they would hardly have wrested it from us, for their pecuniary advantage—one however, which the projectors failed to realize anything from. They built a fine ditch, but succeeded in getting no settlement under it, and it was sold out and went into the hands of the bankers. They succeeded in getting no colonists to mention, nor any immigrants to settle with them, though Judge Sherwood, one of the incorporators, was a member of the Immigration Commission created by the legislature next winter—1873. The grasshopper invasion was the principal cause of this failure.

In addition to the curse of saloons in Fort Collins, being a great drawback to the success of the Agricultural College, since more or less of the boys have to be sent home on account of getting into drinking habits, the farm turned out to be nearly good for nothing, much of it being turned into a swamp after the country around it became irrigated, and needs mostly to be tile-drained. Besides, it is wholly unsuited to raising potatoes, and so renders experiments with that tuber nearly worthless. The college, for a long time, served principally as a high school for Fort Collins, but since it has secured the United States experiment station, it is doing valuable work for the agriculture of the state. It has had for some time an able faculty, who are in no way responsible for its unfortunate location.

The country under the Fort Collins ditch at Number Two has grown into a fine settlement, and the parties who owned the canals sold water rights to the settlers, who now own both land and water as they do under the Union Colony's canals. Indeed, this is nearly wholly the case with the canals taken from the Poudre. In the Larimer and Weld the ownership of the canal is in the company, but it is provided that the canal will be turned over to the owners of water rights after the whole number of rights it is capable of carrying has been sold.

There yet remains to be spoken of one other colony modeled after Union Colony. This is the "Southwestern," or "Tennessee Colony," as it was sometimes called. It differs most markedly from all the others we have so far spoken of, in this, that it not only failed of a colonial scheme, but it failed to leave a settlement in the district which it undertook to occupy. It is better known as "Green City Colony," as that was the name of the town it undertook to found. It was some thirty miles below Evans, on the Platte. The intention was to settle wholly on public land outside of the limits of the railroad grant, where government land was cheaper. The general impression is that its projectors were frauds and swindlers, but of their bad judgment there can be no doubt. The route which their ditch had to follow, through a long stretch of sand hills, proved wholly impracticable

As an instance of how Hubert Howe Bancroft perverts history, we quote the following from his 25th volume, page 638:

"This association (Green City Colony) purchased a large tract of land in the Platte Valley, and selected a town site near 'Fremont's Orchard,' which they named Green City, after D. S. Green, of Denver. A considerable portion of the colony's lands needed no irrigation, being on the Platte bottom; 8,000 or 10,000 acres had been brought under cultivation, which was done by means of ditching, as in the former instance. All these improvements have made the western portion of Weld county a great grain field."

Now these are the facts as I get them from the Rev. G. A. W. Cage, who "was a part" of what he relates.

The colony bought no land. Green filed on a section of government land for a town site, which cost $1.25 an acre. It owned no land in the Platte bottom, that near the site of the proposed town belonging, as it does yet, to Mr. Hendry, of Denver. The town site was laid out in 234 blocks, which contained an aggregate of 5,660 lots of twenty-five feet front each. These lots were put on the market East and South, and whoever bought one became a member of the colony and was entitled to greatly reduced rates of freight and passage in coming here. This last consideration led hundreds to buy lots before ever seeing or knowing anything about the town. The ditch which was taken out of the Platte some eighteen miles above Green City was to be built out of the proceeds of the sale of the town lots. Mr. Cage informs me that from a careful enumeration of the lots sold, and the average prices, the management must have realized from the sale of lots some $60,000. But so long as the ditch remained in the hands of Green and Company it never reached the city or the farming lands adjacent. With Green were united in the scheme, Peter Wills, Thomas M. Barna, and Alexander Pace. Dr. Hubbell, now long settled at Lupton, was secretary for a time, and one of the victims. An election held about the end of 1872 threw out Green, and the three other persons named managed affairs and endeavored to complete the ditch. To help to accomplish this, Mr. Cage loaned Wills $4,000. But the ditch was not completed, and the owners became financially involved, and sold it to a real estate man in Denver by the name of Herr, leaving Mr. Cage in the lurch. This real estate man at length got the ditch as far as Green City, and got water enough through it one summer to irrigate 200 acres of crops; after which it was abandoned, as it would have cost ten times as much to keep it clear of drifting sand and otherwise in running order, as the value of the water it could deliver.

The colony owned no lands whatever. The ditch covered a small area of government land, which the individual settlers were to enter in the usual way, and cultivate. A few took up claims, notably Mr. Cage, who also built a fine house, which eventually was removed to Union Colony lands. Only about a section of farming land was ever "proved up" on, and this of course was abandoned when the ditch was abandoned.

Mr. Cage, in addition to losing $4,000 in the ditch, lost $1,000 which he expended in town lots. He also lost much in fencing, plowing, and some three years' time. In fact, lost more than half his capital, which was, when he started from Tennessee, $12,000.

As history "points a moral," and as it may save some other brother from a similar financial shipwreck, we give it in brief below, although it may be painful to his eyes, now growing dim in the light of seventy summer suns.

Mr. Cage came to Colorado from West Tennessee. He had there been a preacher in the Methodist church. He was induced to join Green's Colony, and came here himself in 1871, and looked over the situation, and was so well satisfied with the appearances that he went back, sold out, and returned in the spring of 1872 with his whole family and several other persons, whose passage he paid, expecting to employ them as hired help on his new farm. Then followed what has been related about his connection with Green City. He now cast his lot in with the people of Union Colony, buying during the years 1874 and 1875 several tracts of land northeast of town under "Number Two." In this he made two mistakes. The tracts lay far separated, and he went heavily in debt. He and his wife and children worked themselves all but to death in order to keep their heads above water. He next took a one-fifth interest in the Weldon Valley ditch, opposite the site of Green City across the Platte, and secured title to some 600 acres of land. This put him more in debt. He was now getting too old to work, but kept holding on to all his land, which he rented, and retired into Greeley. It was now a race between rent and interest, and no one need be told which proved the more nimble-footed. His land has slipped away piece by piece, until the Weldon Valley property disappeared under the forfeiture of a trust deed, and the old man is stripped of the last of his landed possessions. The 600 acres with water for 800 acres went for a debt of some $9,000, which was only $15 per acre.

Had Mr. Cage taken his $12,000 and settled in Greeley, loaning his money at prevailing rates of interest, he might now be worth $100,000 and never have struck a lick of hard work; or, if he had judiciously gone into real estate business in Denver with this sum, he might be worth a million. But, perhaps, in looking back over life from the edge of the grave, this financial failure might appear to one more noble than either of these kinds of success.

It may be farther related, that the few people who remained at Green City were so incensed at the conduct of Green that they changed the name to Corona. I suppose that they meant by this that it was a "crown of sorrow." It only remained as the headquarters of a voting precinct, and was for many years unable to support a school, the district that was formed lapsing back into nonentity.

## CHAPTER XV.

OUTGROWTHS OF UNION COLONY—STERLING—ORCHARD—PLATTE AND BEAVER —FORT MORGAN—NORTH PLATTE—WINDSOR—LARIMER AND WELD CANAL, AND EATON.

AFTER these partial or complete failures of agricultural colonies formed in imitation of Union Colony, no farther attempts were made in that direction. Farther agricultural development was made either by individual enterprise building new canals, or what was oftener the case by the formation of irrigation and land corporations, comprising a few individuals who built the canals and sold the water to such purchasers as could be found. These individuals or corporations incurred the expenses and risks of the new enterprises in the hope of making large profits in the end, while the purchaser of "rights" knew what they were getting, and did not risk all their small means as they did in the colonial enterprises. It required less executive ability to manage the affairs of a corporation composed of a few men, understanding definitely what was aimed at, than in a colony of people of all grades of knowledge and business capacity. As many of these enterprises were undertaken and carried out by Greeley men and Greeley capital, we will now consider them as outgrowths of Greeley.

These movements were chiefly down the Platte.

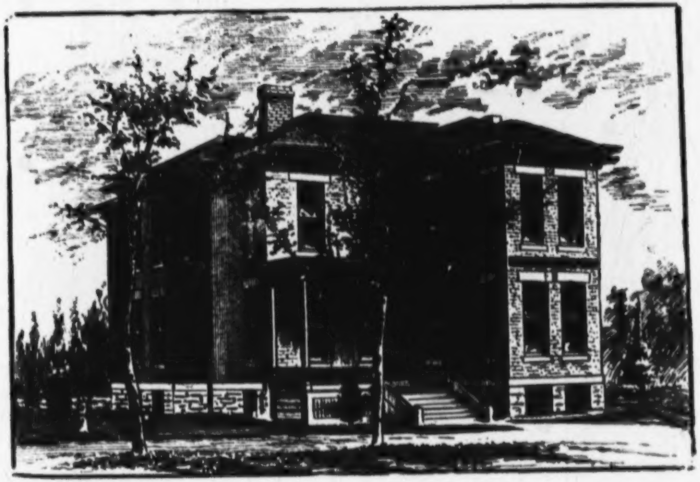
The first in order of time is that of Sterling. This was almost wholly made by men from the South, principally from Tennessee, who had, after the failure of "Green City," become renters of land under the canals of Union Colony. They were excellent people for the most part, and had become imbued with many of our notions, among which were temperance principles and that of a common fence. They, in fact, organized the only other fence district that was formed upon the basis of the law passed by the legislature at the instance of the people of Greeley. There was a charter taken out for building a ditch and also one for the fence district. Messrs. Smith & King seem to have owned the town site and put prohibitory clauses in the deeds, the property reverting to them as individuals and not to the corporation.

The growth of the place was slow until the Julesburg "Short Line" branch of the Union Pacific was built, when Sterling was made the end of a division, and round house and repair shops were put there. But in order to secure these, it appears that their temperance principles had to be sacrificed, and Messrs. King & Smith had a document drawn up and put upon the county records that they waive all rights of forfeiture in case of violations of the compact in the deeds granted by them. So success in a financial point of view was dearer to them than the success of their principles, which, however, were likely weak enough, and were in all probability based upon the presumption that property under usual circumstances would be worth more in a temperance town than in a saloon one.

The site of Sterling is not a good one, being upon level adobe—black, sticky soil—and the land is quite alkaline and not of much value for farming. It is principally a railroad town and had another streak of good luck in this regard since the Burlington railroad also lately went through it, and it is now the county seat of Logan county. Greeley men, especially Doctor Emerson, George H. West and William C. Packard had large interests there, and furnished the town and county in its first start with the needed capital, and I suppose, were gainers in the railroad "booms" it experienced.

The town is also a sort of headquarters for sheep and cattlemen, some of whom make their homes there, and all do their trading for probably some fifty miles each way up and down the Platte. Hence the town is going to live and lead the life of any other small whisky town. Of course it will be all the dearer to the "cowboys" for this, and it can be blessed by having them spend their money there and holding their carousals, instead of going to Cheyenne or Denver, or our own Evans. In this way it may indirectly, by putting on high license, have the cowboys help them to grade their streets as Fort Collins has been doing at the expense of her drinkers.

In 1882, a purely agricultural settlement was started by Greeley people on the other side of the river from Corona. A canal, the Weldon Valley, was built. It is some sixteen miles long, and has a capacity of 196 cubic feet per second. This would be sufficient to water 10,000 acres. The ditch is one of the earliest of any size in the first irrigation district, and hence has a good claim for water in time of scarcity. As there are only 8,000 acres under the ditch, the parties using water ought to be able to get an ample supply. Their railroad station is called "Orchard," being near the cottonwood grove that was early named rather fancifully "Fremont's Orchard." They early built a common fence along the line of the ditch, but did not incorporate it as a fence district.



RESIDENCE OF J. M. WALLACE.

This is a good place to combine stock-raising with agriculture, and large areas of the plowed land are seeded down to alfalfa. Many of the leading farmers of the early days of our colony sold out their farms here and made this settlement in order to have larger farms and raise stock in connection with crops. Solon Martin, who used to run our canals with so much ability, took a large interest in the ditch, and superintended its construction. He raises thoroughbred horses here, and alfalfa is a profitable crop for him in this connection. His brother Henry who is now in California, but who was in the early days one of our leading men, and a "trustee," has an interest in this settlement, and is looking forward to the day when he will return with his family to Greeley and carry on his farm and stock-ranch at Orchard. P. W. Putnam is one of the leading projectors of this enterprise, and has been carrying on a large sheep business in connection with his cultivated farm down there. For a number of years his family have been living in Greeley, on account of our schools. His son Wesley has graduated from here, and is now in the State University. Mr. Putnam was one of the first of our farmers to commence operations under our canal Number Two, and went out on the extreme verge in order to keep sheep in connection with his farming. But he soon found the range too crowded, and sold out and went down the Platte, buying a hay-ranch as headquarters for his sheep, which business he carried on with great success, and then joined the Weldon Valley movement, as related. A. D. Preston and G. T. Dresser also sold out their Union Colony farms and took an interest in the Weldon Valley ditch and lands. Dr. S. K. Thompson, in the early days our only dentist, went into the movement, though living in Greeley and doing non-resident farming. He is now, however, nearly all the time upon the farm, finding that his presence is needed if success is to be gained in this line of business. Albert Igo, so long one of our leading hardware men, was also a large owner under this ditch, but has traded off this interest for Denver property. We have seen that Mr. Cage was also a leading man in this enterprise, right across the river from the scene of his early experience in Colorado agricultural undertakings.

There has been no attempt to build up a town. There is merely a postoffice at Orchard.

On the south side of the Platte still more extensive settlements have been made almost solely by Greeley parties.

The first in point of time, and lowest down the river, some eighty miles below Greeley, is the Platte and Beaver Canal and Land company's undertaking. The canal was commenced in 1881, and by the same company the "Platte and Beaver Supply" canal was commenced the year after. These canals start from the river about nine miles apart, and water independent bodies of land. The name of the last mentioned has been changed to "Lower Platte and Beaver," and the original company has been divided into two, some of the parties taking their interest in and under one canal and others in and under the other.

The parties which constructed these ditches and purchased the state lands under them were Dr. Charles Emerson, B. H. Eaton, J. L. Brush, Bruce Johnson, J. C. Scott, Daniel Hawks, A. S. Baker, H. N. Haynes and J. Max. Clark. The town, which is on the Burlington, is named "Brush," an honor conferred by the railroad company on our townsman, J. L. Brush, who is now at the head of the "Cattle Kings" of Colorado.

The first canal is twenty-five miles long, and has a rated capacity of 313 cubic feet per second, and has under it 20,000 acres of land; the second is about the same length, and is rated at 460 feet, and has under it 15,000 acres.

The main body of the lands under these canals was owned by the state and bought by the company. The land is of the finest quality, level, but not adobe. It is heavier than the average of Union Colony's land and, hence, not so well adapted to potato culture, but very superior for wheat, barley, oats and alfalfa. These lands lie in a solid block, and when fully occupied will give rise to a closely settled community, thus affording great social and school advantages over sparsely settled districts. They are held at the moderate figure of twenty dollars per acre. Some of these lands are nearer the town of Fort Morgan than Brush, which former is farther up the stream, and the center of another movement led and managed principally by Greeley men.

The Fort Morgan enterprise owes its inception to Abner S. Baker, brother-in-law of J. Max. Clark. If the name only sounded as well the town ought to have been called Bakerville. Mr. George R. Baker, father of the "Baker Boys," came from Wisconsin soon after the undertaking was commenced and has put his wealth and effort into it. Lyman Baker, long employed upon *The Greeley Tribune*, is and has been since its start, the editor of *The Fort Morgan Times*. Ed. Baker, long the successful manager of our Number Two canal, has also an interest there, although his family still lives in Greeley. Mr. Kimball, one of the most extensive cultivators under the Fort Morgan ditches, is a brother-in-law of Abner S. Baker. There are also other more or less remote connections of the "Baker Family" to be found there, but it is not to be inferred that none others are admitted.

The projector, Abner S. Baker, has had his ups and downs since coming in the summer of 1870 to Colorado. First we see him managing our "Co-operative Stock and Dairy Association," neither for our nor his profit. Then he and Ed. farm together for some three years, and fail on account of grasshoppers and rusty, low-priced wheat. Then Abner conceives the idea of taking an irrigating ditch out of the Poudre to gather up the seepage water which, from the irrigation above on its banks, is returning yearly in larger quantities to the bed of the stream below the heads of all existing ditches. L. Ogilvy, the son of the Earl of Airlie, of Scotland, sees the point, too, and goes into the undertaking with Baker. When all is completed, Baker sells out to Ogilvy and has now several thousands of dollars in his pocket, and is ready to undertake new adventures. He is one of the "Platte and Beaver" projectors, and upon the completion of this enterprise forms a company to build the Fort Morgan ditches and found the town. This latter is named after a United States Fort of that name, that was near the site of the town. The ditch had to be built largely from borowed capital, and pay-day came before the water-rights could be sold to meet maturing obligations. Lawsuits and general embarrassment followed, but it appears that the way is being won to the open country, and the parties are all solvent and are building up a fine town and country. Abner is a genuine Yankee, of whom Emerson says: "He is like a cat. Toss him up as you like, he is sure to light on his feet."

Unlike the lands under the "Platte and Beaver," these lands were government lands, which could be controlled only to a limited extent by the individual members of the company, and hence all profits in the enterprise as a corporation must come from the sale of water-rights. But for this very reason the Fort Morgan country settles up faster than the "Platte and Beaver," since the land costs the settler next to nothing. There has been a new county created, and the town is its county seat.

The first constructed ditch was commenced in the fall of 1882, is twenty-five miles long, covers about 20,000 acres and has a rated capacity of 350 cubic feet per second. In 1888, 8,000 acres are reported in crops.

Another large ditch is just finished, coming from the Platte farther up stream and irrigating lands to the south of town and which will more than double the cultivated area.

This last canal was taken out of the Platte lower down than the Green City ditch, and at a lower grade. In this way it avoids the troublesome sand hills, and at the same time at length crosses the line of the Green City ditch, covering nearly all the valuable land under that abortive construction. We thus see that what was impracticable to one set of men and at that time, has easily been accomplished by another set of men furnished with the experience gained during fifteen years of experimenting in works of this kind.

It may be farther said that the town of Fort Morgan is a thoroughly temperance one and to this extent an imitation of Greeley. Forfeiture clauses are in the deeds the property reverting to A. S. Baker up to 1894.

But the enterprise of Greeley capitalists has reached beyond the boundaries of Colorado. In 1883 the alternate sections of a block of land, lying between the North and South forks of the Platte were purchased from the Union Pacific railway. The area of the land bought was 13,440 acres. A ditch was taken from the North Platte twenty-three miles long, and with a rated capacity of 422 cubic feet per second. At fifty-five acres to the foot this gives an area of irrigation equal to 23,210 acres, or 290 eighty-acre water-rights. The unsold land is held at ten dollars per acre, and the eighty-acre water-rights at $600 apiece. The quantity of water to the eighty-acre right is 1.44 cubic feet per second, or a duty of about fifty-five acres, the same as in the "Larimer and Weld" canal.

As only the alternate sections were purchased by the company, the other sections, which were government land, were settled by parties who refused to buy water at first, this being held to be in the rain-belt. But the crops of those irrigating so far surpassed those depending on the meagre rainfall, that nearly all are now taking water, and the enterprise appears to be quite a paying investment. Greeley parties own about half the stock which is $160,000. These parties are George H. West, James F. Benedict, J. E. Davis, W. M. Boomer and W. C. Packard. The remainder of the stock is owned by North Platte and Omaha parties. The land lies contiguous to North Platte and is of most excellent quality. Thomas Stimson is managing affairs in a very satisfactory way for the company. He has been farming quite extensively to show the people of Nebraska how to do it, and in this way has enabled the company to make sales readily. The potatoes raised under this ditch last year were in the Denver market competing with the Greeley product. As there is an abundance of water for all seasons, if the soil is only well adapted to potato culture, it is likely to prove a profitable crop. It is, however, claimed that the potatoes raised on this North Platte land are inferior in quality to ours.

The town of Windsor next claims our attention. It is about midway between Greeley and Fort Collins, on the Greeley, Salt Lake & Pacific railroad, and was started when that railroad was built in 1883. It is near the head of Union Colony Canal Number Two from which it and the adjacent country is watered.

Its principal founder was E. Hollister, on whose land it was chiefly laid out; but there was united with him in the enterprise B. H. Eaton, L. S. Springer, L. W. Teller and Alexander Barry. All, except the last named, were original members of Union Colony, and as became them they have put prohibition clauses in the deeds.

There was no attempt to found a colony at this place. The town was platted and the lots laid out and sold as the demand naturally arose. It is mostly settled and built up by the adjacent farmers. L. W. Teller was a leading man in Greeley during our early days, but had been living on his farm for some years when this new town started up near him; and he moved into it and did a general merchandise business. But the man especially deserving of mention in this enterprise was E. Hollister, who is now no more, having been killed by the cars at Fort Collins about a year ago. He was elected at our first legal election in May, 1871, a trustee of the colony, and was its second superintendent following R. A. Cameron. He used to preach for us in the days when we had a "Union Church." In youth he had studied for the ministry at Knox college, Galesburg, Illinois, and upon graduation became a preacher in the Congregational denomination. But his ideas of salvation soon became too broad for even that most liberal branch of orthodoxy; and he betook himself to farming in Illinois. He was among the first to join the colony and get on the ground with his family. From the time he came here he seemed to most to have become far more earthly than heavenly minded, and many were uncharitable enough to insinuate that he was infected with the moral disease known as land greed. For himself, family and friends he procured some seven membership certificates, and located on them all the lands and lots that the rules would allow. He bunched together on these certificates or by purchase or exchange five and ten acre lots enough to make fifty acres, quite near town on the west, and commenced farming on this, among the earliest of our agricultural attempts. He had also a four-acre block in town besides several other lots.

The above facts are worthy of mention to show how some of us evaded the early ideas of the colony, which were that one person should have no more than one claim, and thus prevent monopoly in land. But brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, and cousins, who had never put a foot on Colorado soil, and never intended to, had claims taken in their names, and the minimum improvements put on for them. The colony at first refused to recognize transfers, so as to give deeds to a single person for more than the lands and lots covered by a single certificate. But this was soon found to be futile, as the non-resident parties redeeded to the real parties here. So transfers of certificates with locations made on them were recognized, and deeds granted to their holders without regard to how much real estate he thus acquired in the colony. Hence here, as elsewhere, the effort at leveling proved a failure.

Mr. Hollister's faith in the immediate advance of the price of real estate in and around Greeley, was well nigh boundless, and the period of depression that followed the spring of 1871, did not shake his confidence. He held on to all his lands and lots, borrowing and paying the highest rates of interest then customary, even after moving out on his larger possessions at the head of Number Two. Here he and his eldest daughter secured some five eighty-acre government lots, having recourse to various forms of claim one after another. The water for these lands was obtained on his certificates by paying an additional seventy-five for each eighty, the first claim of the certificate being already satisfied by locating on them smaller sub-divisions near town. He, like many others in those days, preferred land near the head of the canal, although he was farther from town, so as to have the first pull on the water. But persistent effort on the part of the Colony Board soon rendered this advantage of position of no avail, and an equitable division was secured along the whole length of the line.

Mr. Hollister's land extended to the river on one side, and this led him early to adopt dairying in connection with his farming. But on the whole his farming was not a success, and his profits were not increased after he was tempted to buy, going more in debt, a section of railroad land which joined him. The writer understands the nature of this temptation, having had under his nose, adjacent to his farm, a tract of barren cactus plain, which he longed to see converted into fruitful fields waving with golden grain, or green and purple with blossomed alfalfa, giving bread to the sower and labor to the tramp, and vocal with the humming of "innumerable bees." Well, this added section gave him no more cultivated acres, as he had no more water after its purchase than before. So what with scarcity of water and vigilant, incorruptible Solon Martin or Ed. Baker, as ditch boss, delivering water through J. Max. Clark's measuring flumes, and not under gate with four feet pressure, as was deemed prudent when our tenant, John Brown, in 1871, irrigated thirsty lands for us we

(Hollister)being ditch superintendent; and what with sand drifts moving our possessions, in part Missouri-river-wards, our farming diminishes not, but rather increases yearly interest, which is far outstripping profits in the race. It will now take all our Carlylese and Emersonian philosophy to bear us up under all this load with equanimity. We shift our burden from one shoulder to another, until this ingenious performance brings us but little relief.

Such it appears to the writer was the plight of our heavily in debt and land-laden friend who had pondered so much but to so little purpose the problem of this worldliness. The sale of Windsor town lots, and also enhanced Greeley lots and lands may bring some relief to the encumbered estate and leave for his most excellent wife and two daughters some remainder; but maybe not; and all experience is against the hope of much of an encumbered estate getting at last into the hands of the heirs. When one is once sucked into the maelstrom of debt, the best of seamanship is of but little avail. How much of the wreck will float out into the tranquil deep, none can predict. A most perilous course this in which to steer our bark, and one which the charts of all the sages of all the ages have inhibited, and to ward from its dangerous edges have posted their "Thou Shalt Not" maxims. To one looking on from the safe shore, at the debt-drifted voyager, it appears, that no illusion of happy islands miraged in the air beyond, would tempt him into this sea. And yet the life of tempest in the midst of effort, even ignoble effort, may bring more of what makes "Life worth living," than the stagnant pool existence; and it is to be observed that when our sea-farer's keel touches the strand of some little islet, where the risky voyage might end, he soon puts out to sea again. He is like Tennyson's Ulysses, home at Ithaca, and says:

"Of life to me
Little remains: but every hour is saved
From the eternal silence, something more,
A bringer of new things."

"There lies the port: the vessel puffs her sails.
There gloam the dark broad seas." * *

"Come my friends,
'Tis not too late to seek a newer world,
Push off, and sitting well in order, smite
The sounding furrows; for my purpose holds
To sail beyond the sunset, and the bath
Of all the western stars until I die.
It may be the gulfs will wash us down,
It may be we shall touch the happy isles.
We are not now the strength which in old days
Moved earth and heaven; that which we are, we are,
Made weak by time and fate, but strong in will.
To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield."

We have dwelt on this rather as an illustration than a peculiar case, and our readers will bring to mind many others. It must also be said that far from being wholly selfish and ignoble, this disposition that leads men of small capital and much enterprise into undertaking adventures which can by them be only carried on by borrowing, it may rest on the most benevolent of purposes. To reclaim the desert by bringing water to it, is just as beneficent a deed as draining a swamp, and turning it into a fruitful field, which was the crowning deed of Goethe's Faust, who when he beheld the happy homes that had sprung up there, could say to the vision, "Stay, thou art so fair," and yet elude the pledged forfeiture of his life to Mephistopheles, the illuding scoffing fiend, who would be no bad personification of the spirit of borrowing.

Nextly and lastly, something must be said about our little sister to the north of us some eight miles, which bears the name of our Granger Governor, and also of the Larimer and Weld canal, which is the sole reason for the being of the town of Eaton.

We can hardly call either the one or the other an outgrowth of Greeley. We no doubt afforded the projector of both some suggestions. It is true B. H. Eaton was a colonist, but he was a good deal more than that. He was in the Rocky Mountain region some ten years before Mr. Meeker set a foot here, and was opening up a large farm on the Poudre near the site of the Windsor we have been speaking of, and when the colony came here lent it a hand rather than in any genuine sense casting his lot with us. It is true that in 1882, he decided to permanently make his home in Greeley, and erected his almost palatial residence here. But this followed the successful completion of the undertaking we are about to narrate. We have come across his name elsewhere, our readers will remember, in speaking of the development of Weld county. And had it been our business to speak of the state at large we would have come across him still oftener. To many enterprises as well as the Union Colony, he has lent a hand, but this one of building a canal over the route of what is now known as the Larimer and Weld, and of establishing a town under it on the Denver Pacific railroad, was peculiarly his own project. In company with J. C. Abbott, of Greeley, he had built a ditch in 1873, known then as the Eaton & Abbott, but now as the Lake Canal. This canal proved a great success. It has a rated capacity of 158 cubic feet, which would irrigate nearly 9,000 acres at a duty of fifty-five acres per foot, but as there are only about 5,000 acres under it, the farmers have a great abundance of water when the river is high. All the land under it soon came under cultivation, and its success, together with that of our canal Number Two, immediately below it, early led B. H. Eaton to conceive of a still larger canal to be taken out above this on the same side of the Poudre and to irrigate the lands above and to the north of the Lake canal and our Number Two. The first object was to irrigate a fine body of land on the Box Elder, just across the river from Fort Collins. This piece of land had early taken the eye of Mr. Eaton, and it was here that he advised the location of Union Colony, in a letter written to N. C. Meeker soon after seeing his circular of invitation in *The New York Tribune*, as before related. This was before the proportions of the colony had assumed the large dimensions which it soon did, and when both Mr. Meeker and B. H. Eaton were thinking of a colony of some fifty families. Box Elder valley was a rich, black soil, level, and then covered with a heavy growth of buffalo grass, of the same character, as the best spots for cultivation on the Poudre bottom, but presenting great advantages for the easy application of water to the surface. Its limited extent and its distance from the railroad were the drawbacks which hindered its being selected by our locating committee.

The failure of the Agricultural Colony of Fort Collins, as before narrated, had a crippling effect on all engaged in the enterprise, but especially upon B. H. Eaton and J. C. Abbott who had built the canal to irrigate the lands south of that town. This hindered Mr. Eaton from entering on this other undertaking, which at first had only presented itself to him as a canal to irrigate the Box Elder valley. To effect this he proposed his plan to Oscar Eaton, a young man of push and energy, one of our earliest settlers and who had come into the control of considerable capital in marrying the widow sister of A. J. Wilber.

A preliminary survey was made by these two, and was extended much beyond the Box Elder tract, showing a fine route for a canal, and covering a magnificent country of agricultural lands. The larger scheme now took possession of B. H. Eaton, but paralyzed his associate, who retired, and became a banker at Bryan, Ohio, and so disappears from the view of this history.

B. H. Eaton now laid his project before different Greeley capitalists, especially Dr. Charles Emerson, but they considered it too risky, at least not likely to bring any larger returns than money loaned at 18 per cent., the rate then prevailing.

Meantime, Mr. Duff, the manager of the London Mortgage and Investment Company, had been looking over the field for investment in Colorado, and had opened an office in Denver, reducing the rate of interest to 12 per cent. Mr. Eaton met this gentleman and laid his project before him, and, upon due consideration, was accepted. A large body of land in alternate sections was bought from the Union Pacific railway, the other sections being government land and subject to entry only by actual settlers. Mr. Eaton was to have a half interest in land and water, and was to build the ditch by contract, the English company furnishing the needed capital to the canal company at reasonable rates of interest.

Mr. E. S. Nettleton was the engineer. His first important work in this line was Union Colony Canal Number Two, which, however defective in plan, was by far the best piece of work up to this time in the state. His study of the matter, and practice on other works, now enabled him to project a canal far more satisfactory in its construction to meet the requirements than any before in use. B. H. Eaton had also some original views on the subject, which his extensive experience in building canals, and his observation on their running, had suggested to him. This canal was to differ from the others in being comparatively straight, or with long regular curves, cutting and filling a good deal to secure this end. At Mr. Eaton's suggestion, deep cuts were not brought down quite to grade, leaving this work to be done by the erosion of the water, being sure to make a fill above such a cut sufficiently high to hold all the water that would be needed until the canal had worked its bottom to a uniform grade—which it did in about five years. This canal is about fifty-five miles long, and is rated at 720 cubic feet per second, which, at a duty of fifty-five acres, would give its capacity at about 40,000 acres. This is the quantity it is supposed to be able to take in at the head, but probably this should be reduced one-tenth where delivered to the consumers over the weirs at the heads of the several laterals. This would leave 36,000 acres as a possible area of cultivation, which could easily be accomplished if the water were in the river to fill it for two months each season; but as it has been, the company has only sold water for 28,000 acres, which area is reported to have been in crop for the year 1888. Since then the company has refused to sell any more water rights, even for its own lands, on account of the deficiency of water in the river except for short, irregular periods. It is now having under advisement the construction of several large reservoirs, for which there are admirable sites, the matter of difficulty being a good route at reasonable figures for right of way for the feeding canal.

With the push that characterizes the company, there is no doubt that these reservoirs will be constructed and filled, and then it is expected that the company will issue some fifty more water rights, making the whole number 400 or 32,000 acres.

There was great economy in the construction of this canal all at one time compared with that of our canal Number Two, which had three general enlargements that, with the improvements since, has made it cost $112,000, while the cost of the Larimer and Weld is understood to have been $100,000. Checks and dams since put in may make it cost $120,000.

The economy of the construction of this is very conspicuous when compared with the Platte Canon, or High Line ditch, as usually called, built by the same English company. This canal, as is proved by an investigation instituted by the District Court in connection with a cause pending before it, cost $600,000, while the capacities only vary in the ratio of 720 to 1,184. Thus we see that per cubic foot capacity the High Line cost about four times as much. This was owing to the comparative difficulty of the routes.

Assuming that the total cost of the Larimer and Weld was $125,000, and that 350 eighty-acre water rights have been sold, this would give the real cost of a water right about $330, while, as we have shown, the cost in Number Two is about $350. The company sold a few for $400 apiece, but they arose soon to $1,000, and the great bulk were sold for $1,200 apiece. There was a profit on the lands of, on an average, $7 per acre, which makes this a very profitable investment, and proves the sagacity of Governor Eaton in this matter.

It will be seen that the English company would have had to sell the water from the High Line at four times as much to do as well as in the Larimer and Weld, and that it could not have been sold at less than $1,400 per eighty-acre water right to lands which it did not sell: in other words, government lands. It has proved a profitable investment on account of the proximity of the lands to the rapidly growing city of Denver. But many other canal enterprises which the same company has undertaken, or which have fallen into its hands as securities on loans, are not profitable. The Loveland and Greeley, built by Colvin and Mackenzie, is of this kind, also the Evans Number Two, enlarged or reconstructed on a new grade, are of this nature on account of the inferior quality of the lands under them. In this is seen the advantages of a large capital in developing the resources of this arid country. It can average results, and have a fair profit on the whole, although some undertakings are in themselves not remunerative. It is farther to be noted the economy of our co-operative building of Number Two canal, in which the water only costs $350 per right, while in the Larimer and Weld the same costs $1,200.

As an instance of the inaccuracy of Hubert Howe Bancroft's history relating to agricultural affairs in Colorado, we may say that he says in

Volume XXV., pages 538–'9, "Water rights were sold for $2, and later for $1.50 an acre," and that "the cost (of the High Line Irrigating Canal of the Platte Land Company) in 1884 had reached two and a half million dollars." Now we have seen that the cost of this canal, as given in the courts four years after the above date, was only $600,000, and that water rights in the Larimer and Weld were sold first at $5 per acre, and soon were raised to $15.

It is to be remembered that capital put into a canal remains for a time wholly unproductive, and that it only gradually becomes so, as water rights are sold. Hence high final profits are to be expected to justify expenditures of this kind, and frequently they are not realized. Men with limited means are usually unable to wait, and their work frequently goes under, forfeited as a security on loans before returns can be realized. The time has been when farmers could combine and take out small ditches, but that day has gone in Eastern Colorado. Indeed, the day for building any more canals taking water from the South Platte, or its tributaries, has gone in the opinion of the writer. The occasional flood water of the summer, and the run of the months when irrigation is not going on, will not be more in ordinary years than sufficient to lengthen out the irrigation period sufficiently to finish the crops growing under ditches already constructed, and any attempt at bringing new lands under irrigation by means of reservoirs will be futile. While reservoirs may pay to store water to finish rowed crops, they will be in general too expensive for general irrigation, even if a water supply could be had, as they cannot compete with the regular canals in cheapness. We have seen that a fine body of land down the Platte, under the "Platte and Beaver" canals, has gone a begging for years at $20 an acre, with abundance of water to the land.

After the completion of the "Larimer and Weld," B. H. Eaton sold out his half interest in the canal to the English company, and purchased at appraised rates from the old company, of which he was half, a fine body of land under the canal, and on both sides of the Denver Pacific railway. Here, some seven miles north of Greeley, is the town of Eaton. No effort whatever has been made to induce settlement. Some good buildings needed for his business were erected, then an elevator capable of storing 125,000 bushels of wheat was built, which was followed by the construction of one of the finest roller mills in the country. The quantity of wheat received at the mill and elevator this year will be about 230,000 bushels. Eaton now surpasses Greeley in the wheat and flour trade, and is likely to equal it in the potato trade. A warehouse for this business has been constructed, 100 by 200 feet, mostly by Greeley parties, and it has done an immense business the present season. The reservoirs contemplated by the company will more than double the potato product tributary to Eaton.

There is no foolish rivalry going on between the towns; in fact, they co-operate heartily together, and each does the business natural to it. Eaton is now a temperance town, and in all deeds there will be inserted the following clause:

"Provided, however, and this deed is made upon the express covenant, agreement and understanding by and between the parties of the first [B. H. Eaton] and third parts, their heirs, assigns, sucessors and legal representatives, that no intoxicating liquors shall ever be manufactured, sold, or otherwise disposed of as a beverage, in any place of public resort in or upon the premises hereby granted, or on any part thereof, and that in the event of the breach of this covenant and agreement by the said party, his heirs, assigns, or legal representatives, this deed shall become null and void, and all the right, title, interest, and right of possession of, in and to the premises hereby conveyed, shall revert to, and become vested in the said party of the first part, his heirs, assigns and legal representatives."

If this is compared with the clause in the Union Colony deeds, its advantage in clearness and specificness will be seen. The questions that have arisen for discussion about the enforcement of the clause in our deeds have suggested this much amended form. It will be particularly noted the great advantage in having the title revert to, and revest in an individual, his heirs, assigns and representatives, rather than to a corporation whose life in this state is limited to twenty years, and the renewal of which we found so difficult. On the other hand, we have seen how easily this can be avoided in the case of Sterling, where the parties, Smith and King, have put on record a waiver of forfeiture. In the case of a corporation this could not be done by the trustees, and it is doubtful if a majority vote of the stockholders could do it, as it would be depriving the minority of certain contingent rights to property without due process of law.

There is one more feature of this clause worthy of particular mention, and this is that forfeiture follows upon breach of the covenant by not only the party to the instrument, but upon breach by his heirs, assigns or legal representatives, which would include agents or tenants.

One of the first improvements made in the new town of Eaton was the building of a large brick school house containing four rooms. It will accommodate the population for a number of years to come. When the sale of lots shall justify it, it is the intention of Mr. Eaton to donate $10,000 for a library and reading room. A church was early organized, and preaching has been maintained at the school house, but now a fine brick edifice is in process of erection. The denomination is Congregational, which meets the approval of nearly all.

# CHAPTER XVI.

WATER FOR DOMESTIC USE IN GREELEY—WELL WATER, DRAINAGE, ARTESIAN WELLS—FIRST WELL AND ITS COST—OTHER WELLS—CITY WATER WORKS—FIRST VOTE ON WATER WORKS—THE VOTE ON LATE WORKS—THE COST AND CHARACTER OF THE WORKS—ANALYSES OF ARTESIAN WATER AND THAT OF THE WATER WORKS—PRICE CHARGED FOR WATER AND THE LOW RATE IT CAN BE AFFORDED AT.

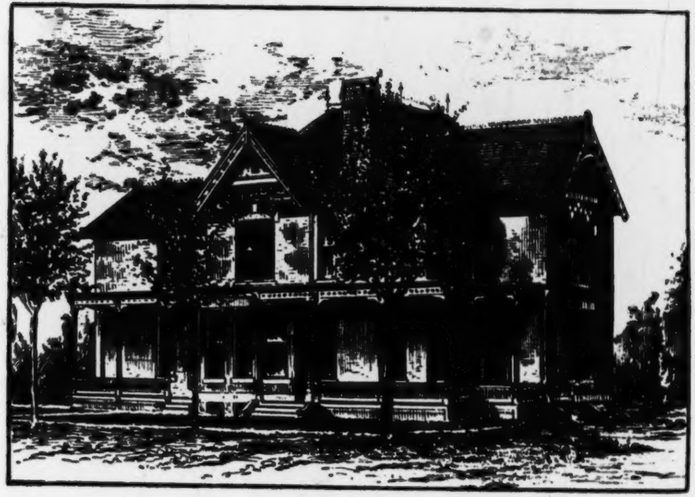
AFTER making something of an extended tour into the neighborhood of Greeley, we now return to the town and take up its internal material progress and improvements, and the water supply will first engage our attention.

It was one of the fortunate things in the selection of the town site that good well water was easily obtained. Gravel is reached at from four to fifteen feet, and at some seasons of the year water is up to the top of the gravel. Before irrigation was commenced the height of the water table under the town site depended upon the flow of water in the river. The height of the water table is greater than that of the river surface immediately north of town. The entrance to this gravel bed is well to the west, and probably there is a continuous flow through this gravel stratum from the foothills and as far east as the bed continues. The river bed to the east of the town affords the drainage and lowers the surface of the underground water when the river is low, and *vice versa*.

The quality of the water in the town wells is also affected by the stage of height in the river. It is softer when there is a full stream fed from melting snow, and contains more inorganic impurities when the stream is partly fed by return waters draining into it from the lands on either bank.

Since the extensive introduction of irrigation, both the rise and the quality of the underground water have been affected. *Now* the water begins to rise in the wells as soon as irrigation has been well started, in and around town, and before there is any rise in the river at all, and soon it reaches the surface of the underlying gravel. For a time this gravel afforded sufficient drainage, so that there was no seepage land near Greeley, except to the north of town, where the first bottom is soon reached, and the mill-power canal soon turned that into a swamp. This same canal did, or was supposed to, raise the water table in the business part of town, and flooded the cellars there. The bed of the canal where most gravelly was puddled, and for a number of years there was no trouble with water in the cellars. But about five years ago it commenced to rise again, and the land just west of town on Main street became almost a swamp. In fact, the water rose to the surface. It appears to the writer that there were two causes for this rise of the water table. First, excessive irrigation upon lawns, which were becoming yearly more numerous, and which require three or four times as much water as a crop of grain or vegetables. Then, too, *all* the lands in and near town were put into cultivation, while during the grasshopper period only a small fraction of it was used. Second, there seems good reason to believe that the drainage capacity of the underlying gravel has become impaired by the waters of irrigation in going down through the soil, and taking with them fine solid particles which fill up the interstices in the gravel. Such an effect could not take place where the gravel was continuously overlaid by compact clay, but much of the soil in and west of Greeley is quite porous, and in some places there are streaks of gravel which reach the surface. But be this last assigned cause real or imaginary, the fact that the water table rose to the surface west of town and rose in the cellars, necessitated the construction of a drain from the river east of town, up Main street, about a mile and a half long. It was piped with glazed-collared tile made at Golden City. In the lower end the tile were fifteen inches in diameter, and about ten in the upper end. They were laid some three feet below the surface of the gravel. For about a year the tile discharged a steady stream at the mouth of the ditch nearly up to their capacity. It soon reduced the height of the water table and relieved the cellars along Main street, and its effects extended gradually to other streets north and south of the line of the drain. The great depth at which it is laid in the gravel has enabled it to do a most extensive drainage duty. The porous and somewhat gravelly soil in Greeley makes the best kind of street material, and it may be said that a muddy street is a thing unknown. But to return to our drain; at this date, March 20th, there is no drainage water being discharged from it. The lower end, which passes through the business part of the town, is used as a sewer, and has to be cleaned out by an occasional slushing from the water works. After irrigation, which is now being started for the season in Greeley, has been going on a month or two, drainage water will again flow in the drain.

Our drain has encountered one serious difficulty in the matter of the small fibrous roots of the trees, on the sides of the street adjacent to



RESIDENCE OF J. C. SCOTT.

the drain, getting into the tile at the joints. These fibers soon form bundles and almost completely stop the flow of the water. Man-holes every 500 feet have to be kept open for the purpose of enabling the drain to be dredged of these obstructions, and last season a large part of the drain was opened up again, and the joints cemented at an ex-expense of about $700. But this cannot be done all along the line, or else it would be ruined for drainage purposes. Cutting down the trees would be a sure remedy, but along this line is the finest row of maples in town, and cutting them down is not to be thought of. The maples are not so bad in this regard as the cottonwoods, and if these were cut down the chief difficulty would be removed. If the drain had been put in the center of the street, which is forty feet from the trees, the roots would not have troubled it.

During some years in the autumn, Greeley has had many cases of typhoid fever, and this has been quite often attributed to the contamination of the well water through organic impurities getting into it more and more as population increased and irrigation extended. But it is to be observed that one of the worst typhoid autumns we have had was that of 1871, when the cause above assigned had scarcely any existence. It is farther to be noted that typhoid has proportionately as many victims in the country as in the town. There seems to be but little grounds for most of the speculations now afloat about the cause of typhoid fever, and in this connection we may mention that, during its latest prevalence, when we had artesian water in use for domestic purpose in more than half the houses in Greeley, those using well water were taken with the disease in no greater proportion than those using the artesian. This leads us to speak of the artesian wells of this place.

The discovery at Denver of artesian water at the moderate depth of from three to four hundred feet, led other towns along the base of the foothills to make experimental borings. Our first well was commenced about the middle of August, 1883, by the Swan Brothers as contractors. The contract was made for eight hundred feet. Rock was struck at forty feet. It was a blue shale. No water beyond that from the gravel overlying the rock was found at eight hundred feet, and a new contract was made to push the drilling down two thousand feet, if need be. At eleven hundred and fifty feet the drill passed into a fine-grained, bluish-grey sandstone, and a very distinct odor of fish oil was brought up by the bailer a few feet farther, and water arose to the top in a slight stream, bringing with it a small amount of tarry substance which, when examined, proved to be an oil of fishy origin. That it was not petroleum was evident by its solubility in ether and alkalies, and by its fishy odor. There were only about twenty-five or thirty feet of water-bearing sandstone, when the drill passed again into shale of precisely the same character as that above.* The flow being only light, it was concluded to continue the drilling at least two thousand feet. But there was so great a depth of water in the hole that the effect of the tools was much lessened, and so it was concluded to put in a heavy iron casing about six inches in diameter, the whole weighing twelve tons. The hole had to be reamed out, and tools were lost and had to be fished out by other tools brought from the Pennsylvania oil regions. When the hole was ready to receive it, this twelve tons of iron piping had to be lowered into it, screwing on sections of eighteen feet in length, one after another, at the top, and lowering the whole, suspended by a rope, as the work went on. To lessen the strain on the rope, a wooden plug was driven into the lower end of the pipe so as to in part float it. The immense pressure of the water forced this plug up into the pipe to within two hundred feet of the surface, and the pipe slipped from the grip of the tackle when there were just two more sections to put on. This was done, when it was found that the lower end of the pipe had collapsed, and had to be drilled out, and then quite a flow of water from the 1,150 foot vein ran out over the upper end of the pipe for about two hours, when the heavy iron pipe settled and stopped the flow. This was estimated at one barrel per minute, and Swan advised that it were better to secure this flow than try any farther. But, in order to do this, it was necessary to withdraw the 1,400 feet of iron piping all screwed together, and the whole had to be lifted at first until section after section was unscrewed. About two hundred feet had been drilled below the point where water was reached and, after the removal of the heavy iron pipe, a four-inch one was put in with a "packer" just below the flow to force it all up the pipe.

But the flow did not seem satisfactory, and as the county had agreed to pay $1,000 of the expense for an experimental well, work was resumed, the heavy iron pipe being again put in place of the smaller one. When a depth of about 2,300 feet was reached the contractor reported that it was impossible to proceed farther, as it was caving in.

It is generally believed that the real cause why work was stopped by the contracting party, was that his cable was wearing out and was nearly used up in length; and also that the engine was not strong

---

*From an article by Dr. G. Law in *Greeley Tribune*, May 28, 1884; and this article is the chief source of the information now extant about this first well.

enough to handle nearly half a mile of wet cable in addition to a drill of 1200 pounds weight.

Dr. Law always regrets that the work should have been stopped at this depth. He says that the United States Geological survey shows that the thickness of this cretaceous shale is 2,600 feet, as measured along the outcrops on the banks of the Missouri river in Dakota, and that it is underlaid by the Dakota conglomerate—a water bearing vein, and from its coarseness, if water were found in it at all, it would have given an abundant flow. But wells of such a depth would have been very expensive, although they would have cost no such amount as this experimental well. Still wells 2500 feet deep could not have cost less than $6,000 apiece. Then there is no knowing what the quality of the water would have been.

It here might be added that the same stratum of sand rock as yields our artesian water was struck in Loveland at 1,400 feet, but it had so much common salt in it as to be good for nothing for domestic use. Farther, Dr. Law informs me that the Swan Brothers, in boring at Cheyenne, went through 1,400 feet of drift, the thickest deposit on record, and then gave it up, not yet having touched bedrock. The depth of drift over the cretaceous shale varies more than the surface level would indicate, the shale being unevenly eroded before the drift was deposited over it. Thus there were some eighty feet of drift above the rock where the well south of J. F. Fezer's house was put down. Moreover, there is a vein of soft water found in the north part of town some ten to twenty feet below the surface of the shale, but when Mr. Hunter tried to find this vein at his residence in the south part of town, he struck a vein of very impure, undrinkable water at a depth of about 100 feet. The quantity of water yielded by these soft water wells is small, but it is preferred to the artesian for drinking, and is equally as good for washing. Dr. Law thinks that it arises from the artesian vein through some crevice in the shale. No analysis has been made of it to ascertain in what it differs from the artesian water.

The artesian water was supposed to be quite medicinal in its properties. An analysis of it was made at Michigan University and it compared favorably with the court house artesian well at Denver. These analyses will be given farther on for comparison with the water from our water works. In an article written for *The Greeley Tribune* of September 24, 1884, which paper he was then editing in company with Mr. Carver, Ralph Meeker says about the artesian water: "The waters beyond all question are highly beneficial to invalids. More people patronize the well to-day than when it was first opened. Conductors and brakemen on the railway trains use it exclusively, carrying it away in milk cans. A gentleman in Platteville makes regular journeys of some twenty miles for this water, which he says has done him much good."

In fact it was as much the rage as Gun Wa's Chinese remedies are to-day. But its charm has passed away. Is it because that it has become so common, made to do quite mean service in our bed-rooms, kitchens or laundries; or is it that it no longer is a natural overflow, having now to be pumped as any other less mysterious water subject to obvious laws of gravity ? Whatever the cause, it stands discredited as a panacea for stomach and kidney troubles, those steadily drinking it being just as dyspeptic and dysuric as those drinking the common well water.

We have spoken of artesian water as having now to be pumped. This has come about in this way. Some seven other wells in rapid succession were put down by parties in different parts of the town. The cost of each of these was on an average about $2,500, and usually enough joined these companies to make it cost each about $100. In this way, and including the public well, more than half the people were supplied with artesian water. But as the number increased the flow in each slackened; and when Mr. Hunter put a steam pump in his well at the Oasis hotel, the water ceased to overflow in all the rest. It now had to be pumped in all of them, the surface of the water in the different wells being on an average about forty feet below the surface of the ground. Some wells were pumped by windmills, some by small kerosene engines and some by hand. They are all quite likely soon to be pumped by motors run by the city water works. Two of these motors are at work now, and it appears that in nine hours per week one of them can pump enough artesian water to last the families taking water from a well for that length of time. The cost to each family is about the same to pump the artesian water as would be charged for the water from the water works. The price charged by the city council for water to run these motors is as yet based upon no experience or calculation determining how much it ought to be in equity to the other citizens using and paying for the water from the city water works. If more water is drawn from the water works to raise a given quantity of artesian water into the tanks for distribution than the quantity so raised, then, it is evident that the city in affording power for motors to these wells at less cost per family than from the water works is making an unjust discrimination. It can easily be determined by experiment how much one of these nozzles affording water for the motors discharges per minute, and this compared with the filling of the tank of the well will give the ratio. Theoretically a 5-16 nozzle with our pressure of about 160 feet ought to discharge twenty gallons per minute.

As already mentioned incidentally our water works were only completed last summer. The lateness of undertaking this town improvement was due to the facts that the town had good water supplies for domestic purposes, as also plenty of water for irrigating gardens and lawns. Hence when the first vote was taken in April, 1880, to bond the town for $60,000 for water works, only forty-two votes were cast, and of these all but *one* were against it. So the matter rested until July, 1888, when a petition was presented which ran as follows, and was signed by the men whose names are hereto annexed :

### WATER WORKS.

"*To the Honorable Mayor and Council of the City of Greeley, Colorado*:—

"WHEREAS, The urgent need of better supply of water for domestic, sanitary and fire purposes is acknowledged by our citizens generally to exist, we, your petitioners, earnestly ask your Honorable body to take the matter under consideration without delay, with a view of building a complete system of water works at the earliest possible moment :

"E. H. Abbott, Patrick Bready, W. M. Boomer, H. H. Barton, E. R. Thayer, H. W. Lee, A. C. Wilson, E. Atkinson, Geo. K. Peasly, J. A. Clark, A. J. Park, James C. Scott, A. W. Davis, Geo. H. West, Charles H. Wheeler, H. T. West, John W. Sanborn, F. F. Hart, F. E. Smith, N. W. Hall, J. E. Davis, J. T. Woolens, R. L. Hallock, S. H. Southard, T. T. Wilson, J. M. Wallace, H. C. Watson, J. B. Cooke, A. W. Jacobs, Wm. L. Clayton, E. M. Southard, L. T. Brownell, L. Warner, M. A. Bunker, E. A. Smith, J. Max. Clark, B. H. Eaton, G. B. Wyman, Wood & Mayher, James McVety, H. L. Wyman, H. B. Jackson, R. H. Johns, D. F. Camp, Geo. W. Fisk, A. M. Nixon, E. F. Dawley, Geo. S. Adams."

We have published the above list of names in justice to the City Council, since, as its members claim, many of the names appearing on the petition again appeared in a remonstrance against putting in the works.

A committee consisting of the Mayor, Messrs. Woodbury and Bennett, visited and inspected different systems of water works in this state and in Kansas and Nebraska. On the return of the committee a mass meeting was called at the court house, at which the Council was instructed to call an election to vote on the question of water works.

The following article in *The Greeley Tribune*, November 14, 1888, from the pen of J. J. Stevens, who had not signed the petition, will show clearly the reasons of the opposition:

"I have consulted all the doctors in Greeley but one, whom I have not been able to see, and asked this question: 'Are the fevers that have prevailed in Greeley to be attributed to the water that is used?' and have received for answer from every one of them 'No,' and have been informed by some of them that fevers occur fully as frequently in the neighboring towns that have water works and on farms where they have deep wells, and even in the mountains, where the water is considered faultless, as they do here in Greeley. We all know that families in Greeley who use artesian water have had their full share of fevers, The pretext of a need of water works on account of health cannot be sustained.

"Water works may be some help in case of fire, but not enough to reduce our insurance rates by one point. I find that in Laramie, where they have an immense gravity pressure, the rates are the same or higher than here.

"The principal use, then, for our proposed water works must be to supplement our system of irrigation. Of course, any additional facilities in that line are desirable, but pumped water is very expensive for irrigation. In Denver the price per year for a lawn twenty-five feet square is $25. Our lawns in Greeley are from four to eight times that in size. Do we want to pay from $100 to $200 each to sprinkle lawns? For a small house lawn and stable the Denver price is $40 per year and upwards. It is said we are to make the price less here. One thing is certain, the cost of supplying one hundred persons in Greeley will be very considerably greater than to supply the same number with the same amount of water in Denver. By reason of the scattered situation of the users the pipes must be a great deal longer and the friction greater, and the fuel to run the engine much more. Whatever of cost is taken off the consumers must of necessity be left on the tax payers.

"I believe it a safe estimate that, after deducting all incomes from consumers, the tax payers will have to pay $5,000 a year for interest on bonds, superintendence and repairs.

"The synopsis of a plan as published, after conducting the water to a tank on the heights says, 'also a system of submains to distribute water through said city or the major portion thereof.' Now it would be very interesting to know which major portion of the city is to be supplied and which is the minor portion that is to be left out. Of course, as there is a price specified, there are also exact specifications of what is to be supplied, and where it is to be placed, and this specification should be published before the election, so that every voter may know whether he is in the major or the minor regions.

"I hear it frequently remarked that the vote for water works is expected to be carried not by the votes of those who are to pay for them, but by votes of those who hope to get jobs in building them. I find by examining the tax list that upwards of ninety citizens who pay taxes on an aggregate assessment of $114,142, about one-tenth of the city assessments, have no vote in this matter. *They are taxed without representation.* Taxed by the vote of men who will pay no share of the tax. This is a matter that should be considered. I have asked a considerable number of these citizens how they would vote if they could. The *no* of every one of them is emphatic, but of course powerless.

"It is urged that we put in water works because our neighbors have done so. Has the advancement of Fort Collins, Loveland, Longmont and Cheyenne, since they put in water works, been anything that we need to envy? The fact is their progress has none of the time been, and it is not now equal to ours. Their lawns and gardens are no finer; in fact, not nearly so fine, and their taxes very considerably higher. Is there anything in all this that makes it necessary for us to incur a large debt?

"I have known several thrifty towns to have their growth stopped and a paralysis come over them by a 'Hip, hip, hurrah!' policy that overwhelmed them with debt. I never knew a heavy indebtedness to recommend any town as a place for a home. The penalty of town bonds is annual and eternal interest."

When the vote was taken it was light, being only 344, while in the town precincts at the regular election two weeks before it was 925. The majority was 54, which all came from the first precinct, the majority of 14 in favor in the third being balanced by a majority of the same number against in the second. The majority in fact was made up of the floating population still hanging around town after potato digging. If the property owners alone had been allowed to vote, the measure could not have been carried. If the vote had been for the issue of bonds, the floating population could not have voted; but Colonel White was too shrewd a political manager for that, and had the vote instead "for or against water works," and on that general question all electors could vote.

By many it was thought that bonds could not be issued by virtue of the above vote, and public meetings were held, and a remonstrance was sent to the Council asking it not to issue bonds. This it saw fit to disregard, and the lawyer employed by the remonstrants advised that the City Council had power to issue the bonds, and so all opposition was given up.

The system so completed has cost $63,928.33. The following is the amount of cast iron pipe used:

41,960 feet of 4-inch pipe.

3,205 feet of 6-inch pipe.

4,208 feet of 8-inch pipe.

3,972 feet of 10-inch pipe.

5,383 feet of 12-inch pipe, and 46 double discharge fire hydrants of the Chapman pattern. The Eddy valves are used in the system.

The pumping station cost, complete, $11,849.01.

A steel stand pipe, located on Arlington Heights, 134 feet above the grade of Main street, at post-office corner, cost $2,883, and has a capacity of 160,000 gallons.

The above costs include the price of twenty acres of land, which was $800. It was deemed advisable to have this much to keep population away from the site of the works, and so prevent contamination.

The works take water from a well northwest of town, within some quarter of a mile of the river. The water at this point is struck, when it is highest, at about six feet below the surface. The well was put down twenty-two feet, and is ten feet in diameter clear of the casing. The lower twelve feet is cased with 2x12 plank in pieces of about three feet long, laid flatwise, the upper part with a brick wall twelve inches thick, laid in mortar. At the present time of writing, March 25th, the water in the well is about its lowest stage, and is eight feet from the surface instead of six, when it was first operated last July. The steam pump, which has a guaranteed capacity of 1,000,000 gallons per day, can lower this head twelve feet in operating forty-five minutes. This brings down the water to within two feet of the bottom of the well. The water from the well is lifted into the forcing cylinder of the pump by suction, and when the water in the well is two feet deep, the height of the cylinder is about twenty-one feet above the surface of the water. At this level the water rises too slowly in the pipe connecting the cylinder with the well to fill the cylinder, while the pump is making one stroke at ordinary speed. Hence, as the piston under heavy steam pressure is working during a part of its stroke only against empty space, it strikes the water with a jerk and gives a thudding jar to the whole machinery. This can be prevented by slowing the speed, so that the cylinder is filled during a stroke. A mistake was made in only putting in an eight-inch pipe to connect the cylinder with the well. This pipe is just of the same diameter as that of the main at the pump-works, which is operated by high pressure steam acting on pistons of twelve inches diameter. It was intended by the authorities here to have twelve-inch pipe in the well, and such a pipe is now on hand, but could not be used, as the connection with the cylinder was only eight inches in diameter. A special connection is needed of twelve inches diameter at one end, and eight at the other, and then, after all, the water would have to reach the cylinder through an aperture eight inches in diameter. The best remedy, and one intended to be applied when its need became apparent, is the running of a gallery, say five feet at the bottom below the present water surface and as far back as required to keep the well full to the height at which it can be continuously pumped with full cylinder at regular speed.

It might be here farther added that the well which was pumped down twelve feet in forty-five minutes, was about seventy minutes in filling. About twenty minutes is as long as the pump can be run now at a time with full cylinder and regular stroke. As the capacity of the pump is about that of an eighty-acre water right in the Larimer and Weld canal, it can be seen about what sort of a well might be expected to furnish water for a pump that can raise this quantity. Here, the material through which the water has to flow to reach the walls of the well is coarse gravel, and, hence, affords the best facilities. It will be economy in constructing these irrigating wells to make galleries to them, and when the overlying clay is deep, this will have to be done by tunneling.

The town was bonded for $65,000 to put in these works. The rate of interest is 7 per cent. It also has a floating indebtedness of about $22,000. We have seen that the school district bonds are $22,500. Hence we have a total indebtedness of about $110,000. The floating indebtedness was principally incurred for the artesian well and the drain and sewer before mentioned. In the opinion of the writer the expenditure for water works was not a judicious one. The interest on the bonds is $4,550 per year, or about four and a half mills on the dollar of assessment. At the present rates for water, which are merely nominal, there is no prospect that the income will pay the running expenses for years to come. The rates for six-room houses per year are only five dollars, and the same for lawns fifty feet front. Yet with all this cheapness comparatively few take the water. Charles A. White, the Mayor at the time that the works were started, does not himself take the water, although he claims great credit for carrying the measure through in the face of strong opposition. While we are writing this he is irrigating his lawn with ditch water rather than pay five dollars a year for a lawn jet. Still the mayor and council are not to blame for originating the movement, as will be seen by looking over the list of petitioners, which includes nearly all the business men of the place. The real estate men and money loaners were chiefly the originators, expecting thereby to work up a "boom," which however has not come, as our friend J. J. Stevens predicted it would not. As it is, it benefits a few luxurious persons too lazy to pump their water some twelve to fifteen feet, or to look after the ditch water to irrigate their lawns. Of course these sprays look beautiful, and are a great convenience, but if those using them had to pay for them, what the real expense is, there would be few playing. As a rule the greed of those using sprays on their lawns, is so great that they overdo the watering; for by keeping the leaves of the grass nearly permanently wet, it is made of a pale green, sickly color. A thorough flooding every ten days, getting well to the roots, and leaving the leaves plenty of chance to evaporate the water that copiously passes through the plant, facilitates the process of plant nutrition; and produces the chlorophyl grains which give to the plant its dark green, healthy color.

We are now to consider the quality of the water works' water, and compare it with that of the artesian wells. As regards inorganic impurities, and hence hardness, the former can in no way differ from the well water. However, so far as health is concerned, the organic impurities are the ingredients to be feared. In this respect the water of the water works must have a great advantage over well water in the thickly settled part of town, but scarcely any over wells in the sparsely settled part, and especially to the west, from which direction the underground flow comes.

Below we give the analysis of the artesian water as analyzed at Michigan University and in comparison that of the Court House artesian water of Denver:

GREELEY WELL.

Specific Gravity—1.00107 (at 60 degrees F.) Reaction—Alkaline.
In one United States gallon, 231 cubic inches.

| | |
|---|---|
| Bicarbonate of sodium, grains | 44.4284 |
| Bicarbonate of magnesium, grains | 0.5075 |
| Bicarbonate of calcium, grains | 0.5775 |
| Chloride of sodium, grains | 37.3390 |
| Ferric oxide, grains | 0.2391 |
| Alum. oxide, grains | 0.0583 |
| Silica, grains | 6.2904 |
| Sulphates, slight traces | ..... |
| Total solids, grains | 89.4401 |
| Carbonic acid gas, grains | *11.1057 |
| Total constituents, grains | 100.5458 |

*Or 29.22 cubic inches at 60 degrees F.

### COURT HOUSE WELL, DENVER.

| Solid residue—33 01 | Grains to gal. |
|---|---|
| Calcium, sulphate | 0 36 |
| Calcium, carbonate | 1 64 |
| Sodium, carbonate | 15 83 |
| Sodium, chloride | 14.04 |
| Magnesium, carbonate | 0.32 |
| Ferrous, carbonate | 0.06 |
| Silica | 0 63 |
| Total | 32 88 |
| Lime ($CaO$) | 1.07 |
| Magnesia ($MgO$) | 0.15 |
| Soda ($Na_2O$) | 16 71 |
| Ferrous oxide ($FeO$) | 0.04 |
| Sulphuric oxide ($SO_3$) | 0.2[illegible] |
| Silica ($SIO_2$) | 0.63 |
| Chlorine ($Cl$) | 8.52 |

The following is the analysis, made at the Agricultural College by the chemist, of the water of the Greeley water works :

THE STATE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE.
AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION.
FORT COLLINS, COLO., Aug. 19. 1889.

*Mr. LaGrange, Greeley, Colorado:*

DEAR SIR—The examination of the *solids* of the Greeley water was as folllows: Found 73 grains of solids in a gal.

| | |
|---|---|
| Iron and alumina ($Fe_2O_3$ x $Al_2O_3$) equal | 1.41 per cent |
| Lime ($CaO$) equal | 13 83 per cent |
| Magnesia ($MgO$) equal | 6.24 per cent |
| Carbonic acid ($Co_2$) equal | 17.79 per cent |
| Chlorine ($Cl$) equal | 2 25 per cent |
| Sulphuric acid ($SO_3$) equal | 37.71 per cent |
| Alkalies (Soda $Na_2O$) equal | 17.54 per cent |
| | 99 77 |

Examination of the *water* (Greeley), was as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Oxygen required (Forchammer) | 32.6 to liter |
| Hardness, (total) | 26.4 grains to gal |
| Hardness, permanent | 18.2 grains to gal |
| Hardness, temporary | 6.4 grains to gal |
| Free ammonia | .0019 grains to gal |
| Albuminoid ammonia | .00084 grains to gal |
| Chlorine ($Cl$) | 1.5 grains to gal |
| Nitrates<br>Nitrites | Not determined |

*Explanation of the analysis:*

*Solids.* The water is filtered, and evaporated to dryness on the water bath at the temperature of boiling water, the dried solid matter analyzed. In combining the basis and acids the rule is that the strong base is combined with the strong acid, making the residue a chloride of sodium, (common salt), a sulphate of iron, alumina, and magnesia; and a carbonate of lime, (limestone).

*Water.* The amount of oxygen required, (method of Forchammer), is conducted, as follows: A standard solution of permanganate of potassium is added to the water and it is boiled for 15 minutes, when the amount of oxygen used up by the water is estimated by a standard solution of oxalic acid. The more *organic matter* in the water, the more permanganate it reduces—the limit of good drinking water is about 50. to the liter.

(about 1 quart). The hardness means the amount of lime and magnesia the water contains. Water that contains carbonic acid dissolves limestone, this is the reason that caves occur in limestone countries. *Cold* water dissolves more lime than *hot* water; if the water is boiled the carbonic acid is driven off, some lime is deposited, and it is called permanent hardness, the difference between the total hardness and the permanent hardness is the temporary hardness.

The free ammonia, and the albuminoid ammonia are *very small*.

The nitrates and the nitrites were not estimated, as the water was so good that the amount would be but traces.

I take pleasure in stating that it is very good water.

Very respectfully,
DAVID O'BRINE.

P. S. I send you a sample of the residue, you will see by the color it is quite nice.

It will be seen in comparing the above two kinds of artesian water that the Greeley article has more than two and one-half times as much solid matter, but that the proportions of sodium and magnesium carbonates, and sodium chlorides (or common salt) are about the same. On the other hand the absolute quantity of calcium carbonate is three times as much in the Denver water, and hence it is harder. In our water there is only a trace of the sulphates. The presence of free carbonic acid in our water also makes it contrast favorably with that of Denver in which it is lacking. It is no doubt owing to this excess of carbonic acid that the salts formed by this acid in the Greeley water are bicarbonates, while they are only simple carbonates in the Denver article. If either of the above mineral waters has any medicinal virtue that from the Greeley wells should be preferable. But it has always occurred to the writer that if any natural mineral water has medicinal properties, it can be reproduced quite easily artificially, and that the latter should be equal to the former but for the glamour of it, or, in other words, the play of imagination. The Denver well has lost its charm and so also has ours, and crowds of pilgrims no longer stand around in waiting for their turn.

In comparing the well water with the artesian, it will be seen that the former has some less solid matter, but has a great deal of carbonates of lime and magnesia, which give it its hardness. The comparatively small quantity of common salt in the well water, compared with artesian, is also worthy of note, as also the presence in excessive quantity of sulphate of soda, formed from the sulphuric acid and soda given in the table. The comparative freedom from organic impurities is the chief point of interest in the analysis. At the date when the water was taken it had quite likely as high a percentage of impurities as at any other time of the year, as the river was low and return seepage water was reaching it from the copious irrigation of the two and a half months preceding. In fact, the water is good drinking water, clear as crystal and pleasant to the taste. It has not enough salts in it to be noticed in drinking or to provoke complaints of the bowels, and it may be farther said in extenuation of the fault we have found with the Board for putting in a system at all, and thus creating our first bonded indebtedness, that the work has been done thoroughly and economically, and the system is one of the best and cheapest in the country. If the works were kept operating up to their capacity, water furnished at the rate of four hundred gallons for one cent would pay interest on the bonds, operating expenses and repairs. The interest is just about $12.50 per day, and allowing the same amount for running night and day and keeping in repairs, we have $25 or 2,500 cents, which goes 400 times into 1,000,000. This is more than twelve barrels, and far more than any family could use in a day. So it can be seen that, if all the water were taken, the town is furnishing it none too cheaply. But the interest on the bonds is just as much, whether any is used or not, and the operating expenses would not be quite doubled if working up to capacity. If people had only any assurance that the present low prices would be maintained, there are few who are not supplied with artesian water that would not take it before long. But the City Council is a changing body, and cannot give assurances which will extend far into the future. However, it would seem to the writer that it would be a wise policy to continue the present low price for domestic use, and also for motors, at the same rate, until the capacity of the works is nearly reached. As to the cost for lawns, it appears that it is now disproportionately low as compared with that for domestic use, and the supply can be obtained from the irrigation works as before, and at a cost of only a $1.25 for fifty-foot front or one-quarter that from the water works. Just how much a lawn fifty feet square will use during eight months can be estimated closely. Under the old system a flooding about six inches deep was applied every ten days. This over an area of fifty feet square will give about 10,000 gallons, or 1,000 gallons a day, or for the year an average of 666 gallons per day. It appears to the writer that, in using the hydrants, more water is used, as the evaporation is much more from a constantly wet surface. The price for fifty feet front is only $5, and for one hundred only $8. The depth is not taken into account. A just basis would be superficial contents. However, assuming that the same quantity is used from the hydrants as from the occasional floodings, we have about twenty barrels a day average for the year for the same price as that used in a private house of six rooms, where not more than two barrels a day would be used. It may be said that the lawns and flower beds are things of beauty to be enjoyed by all whose minds are not cankered by envy and jealousy, as well as by the owners. However, if this were made a basis of taxation, houses should be assessed according to their cubic contents and not increased in valuation on account of their expensive exterior ornamentation. It will, however, be well on in the twentieth century when the average man will feel as much pleasure in saying to himself, "That thing of beauty is my neighbor's or friend's" as he will in saying, "It is mine."

It is to be noted that we in this valley of the Poudre are fortunate in not having mining operations going on in the mountains west of us to contaminate the waters of our river for domestic purposes, and render barren our fields when irrigated with the water bearing in suspension the waste of mining operations. Boulder is just finding that its water is no longer fit to drink, and will have to push out its system of pipes into the snowy range above the mines, it is estimated, at a cost of $160,000.

It may, in closing this topic, be said that it is much better to get our water from a well and galleries some distance from the river than to draw direct and try to filter, as Fort Collins does. When the river is muddy, this filtering succeeds only to a small degree in clearing the water of matter held in suspension, while in our case the water will be as clear at flood time as at low water, and there will be but a small difference against us in hardness as compared with drawing direct. When the river is bank full of melted snow water it is comparatively soft, but in getting to our well it will be mixed with "seepage" water.

# CHAPTER XVII.

LATE IMPROVEMENTS IN GREELEY—ELECTRIC LIGHTING—GREELEY IRRIGATION PUMP FACTORY—IRRIGATING PUMPS BY HORSE POWER—THE OASIS HOTEL—BILLIARD SALOON AT OASIS—STEAM LAUNDRY—POTATO WAREHOUSES—SALOMON'S WAREHOUSE—THE GREELEY ELEVATOR AND POTATO WAREHOUSE—PATTERSON POTATO WAREHOUSE—GREELEY MERCANTILE COMPANY, AND ITS WAREHOUSE—FIRST NATIONAL BANK BLOCK—THE OPERA HOUSE AND HUNTER & WEST BANK BLOCK—S. D. HUNTER—UNION BANK BLOCK—REAL ESTATE BUSINESS—SANBORN & PHILLIPS—AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT BUSINESS—F. E. SMITH AND LOUIS HAYNES—PETER HUFFSMITH—J. MAX. CLARK—FARR & TAYLOR—LUMBER AND OTHER BUILDING MATERIAL—WOOD & MAYHER—J. K. THOMPSON—W. L. CLAYTON—BRICK YARDS—STONE SHIPPED IN—LIVERY STABLES—GRAHAM'S AND MINER'S—TILE FACTORY—PICKLE FACTORY—PAPER MILL IN THE NEAR FUTURE—GREELEY CREAMERY—RAILROAD RECEIPTS—POPULATION—POSTOFFICE, BUSINESS OF—SAVINGS BANK.

OUTSIDE of Denver, Greeley was the first place in the state to put in an Electric Light plant. This was done in the fall of 1885 by the Greeley Electric Light company, and the plant is now worth $35,000. It is run by two engines, each of forty-five-horse power. There are two Thompson and Houston electro-dynamos. It has thirty miles of mains. The city rents of it thirty-seven street lights. These are incandescent and of sixteen candle power each. The cost to the city is twenty-eight dollars per year per lamp, or $1,036. It is the intention to replace these street lamps by ten arc lights of 2,000 candle power each.

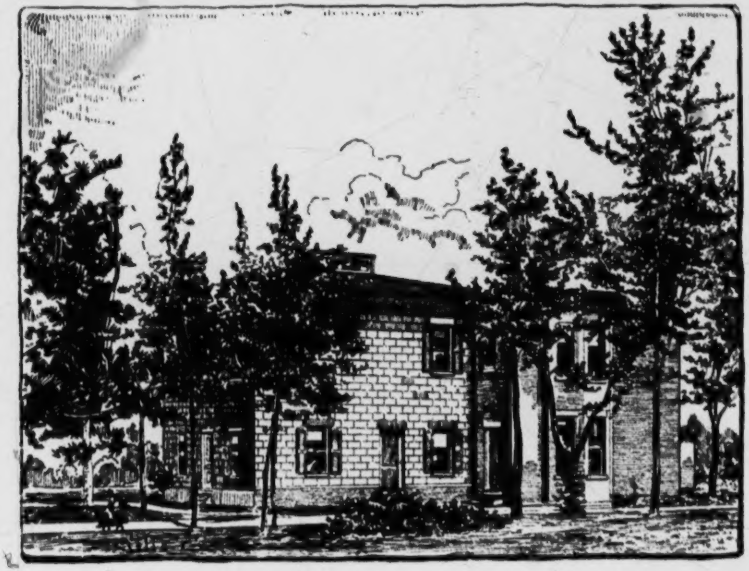
For domestic use the price is one dollar and twenty-five cents per month for each incandescent lamp of sixteen candle power. The stock is all owned by Greeley men, and it is now being managed and operated by home men. H. F. Flower is manager and has within a year or two learned all the details of the operations, leaving his old business as druggist and engaging in this new line of work with an ardor and zeal which are highly worthy of admiration. He is not ashamed to wear the soiled and grease-stained garments, which this kind of work makes necessary. An experiment is now being made in using the electricity from these works as a power to run small motors.

If it can be used as economically as steam it will come into general use as it is much cleaner and requires less labor for its application. *The Greeley Tribune* has just put in one of these electric motors, in place of its steam boiler, and this book is being printed by that power.

Next in order is the Greeley Irrigation Pump Factory. The capital stock of this company is $150,000, and $141,000 is paid up. The plant is near the railroad track and was put in during the summer of 1889. It can do all kinds of foundry and machine work, but makes a specialty of large pumps for short lifts of water for irrigation purposes. It has secured several valuable patents, and its officers and managers are inventing and projecting others. It is receiving many orders from most of the arid states and territories, and also from the South to raise water for irrigating rice fields. The plant has so far cost $32,000, and it is intended to add another building during the coming summer. From thirty to forty men are steadily employed, and many are Greeley men, and not a few of our young men are learning the trade. The most of the outside hands that have come here have accepted with satisfaction the temperance situation. A few have given some trouble, but a judicious weeding-out will soon set things right in this regard, and George H. West and Dr. G. Law are not likely to allow much irregularity in this line. Two-thirds of the stock are owned by Greeley parties, viz: Dr. G. Law, George H. West and J. C. Swan. The other third is owned by J. J. Crippen, of Kansas City, who is president of the company.

In connection with steam pumps we might mention some three different styles of horse-power pumps, of simple and cheap construction, now about to be manufactured in Greeley. Some of these pumps, it is claimed, with four horse-power, will raise an eighty-acre water right from a depth of twenty feet. In certain situations these pumps will do valuable service, but there have not been experiments enough made to warrant much outlay until it is seen that the subterranean water supply is likely to hold out.

The building of the Oasis Hotel was an event in Greeley. Until this was opened, hotel accommodations were very inferior in Greeley, and it was shunned by the drummer. But since the erection of this palace we have grown in the opinion of the traveling public. It was built during the summer of 1881 by a stock company. Many of the citizens took small portions of this stock as a bonus to start the enterprise, not expecting to get any pecuniary return. In this they were not disappointed, and were glad to give it up. The concern soon fell into the hands of Dr. Charles Emerson, James M. Freeman, Bruce Johnson and S. D. Hunter. The latter bought out, as occasion offered,



RESIDENCE OF MRS. N. C. MEEKER.

the other three and lent all his energies in trying to make it a success. He succeeded in making it pay about the time he sold it, which was last year. The building with its furnishing cost $85,000. It contains about 100 fine rooms for guests; it is steam heated, has a supply both of artesian and city water, and is lighted by electricity. There are three other hotels in Greeley so that the traveler can have his choice.

The only billiard tables in Greeley are connected with the Oasis Hotel and have been run without bringing any trouble from liquor selling in connection. The hotel also runs a steam laundry, at which artesian water is used, and nice work done at low figures.

One of the principal businesses of the town is handling the large potato crop raised in the vicinity. To do this a number of potato warehouses have been built. One of the first of these was erected by A. Z. Salomon and is now operated by Gale & Price. It has storage for some thirty carloads. The Greeley Elevator, erected in 1880, by J. L. Ewing, also stores potatoes in its ample cellar and part of its first floor. It has storage for eighty carloads. The elevator was built by J. L. Ewing in 1881 at a cost of $22,000. It has storage room for 100,000 bushels of grain, besides the storage room for the potatoes, which is in the cellar and on firs floor. Mr. Ewing also bought the mill adjoining the elevator, and changed it into a roller process mill with a capacity of four hundred sacks per day. Both mill and elevator are now the property of the Colorado Milling and Elevator company, but J. L. Ewing is still manager. He has done much towards building up Greeley.

R. Patterson also has a potato warehouse in Greeley as well as being the manager of the still larger one in Eaton, of which we have before spoken. The Greeley warehouse has a capacity of about twenty-five carloads.

The principal depot for farming produce is the large warehouse of the Greeley Mercantile company. It has a capacity of about one hundred and twenty-five carloads of potatoes and twenty-five carloads of grain. It has for some time been under the able management of Henry C. Watson, of whom we spoke at the beginning of this history. Its capital stock is $30,000 and its business has been remunerative, usually being able to make 12 per centum per annum dividends.

Our three banks occupy the three most conspicuous corners in the business part of Greeley. The National Bank block cost, not including the price of real estate, about $40,000. The president of the bank, J. M. Wallace, came here in 1884, and since his coming has taken a leading part in every progressive, and humanitarian movement of the place. He is one of the creators of the new Greeley that has arisen gradually during the second decade of our existence. The Greeley Cash Store, which occupies the remainder of the first floor of the First National Bank block with its various lines of goods, does a large and prosperous business. It is carried on by the Mitchell & Patton Merchandise company. The second story is finely arranged for offices and the whole is steam heated and lighted with electricity. Here also is the Greeley Public Library, and *The Greeley Sun* is also published here.

The Hunter & West Bank occupies the corner of the first floor of the Opera House block, which is the finest and largest business structure in Greeley. It cost about $85,000, besides the value of the lots. One of these cost $4,000. The Opera House, which occupies the second floor, is the largest and finest in the state north of Denver, and seats about 800. A large portion of the third story is occupied by the Greeley Business College, of which an account is given in the chapter on education.

This block was erected by S. D. Hunter, who, during the last ten years, has built up Greeley in more ways than one. He was one of our earliest settlers, but went into the cattle business instead of agriculture, and in it added materially to his fortune. He sold out while prices of cattle were yet high. He then commenced to make extensive purchases of real estate in Greeley, which soon gave it an upward tendency. His first extensive building undertaking was the renovation of the Barnum Block, which has been renamed Park Place, on the corner of which is the post-office. This is a three-story building, and cost about $40,000.

The Union Bank block occupies perhaps the most desirable corner in Greeley The two lots on which it stands cost about $10,000, and the structure about $40,000. This, too, is steam heated and lighted throughout with electricity. Some very fine living rooms as well as offices occupy the second floor.

The capital stock of the Union Bank is $100,000. It has been in existence some sixteen years, and has done a profitable business. When not expending for improvements it easily makes dividends of 12 per cent per annum.

The real estate business in Greeley is more modest in its out-put of offices and signs than in most Western towns. Sanborn & Phillips, two of the young men that have grown up with the place, are the principal operators, but do, in connection with it, an extensive loaning and insurance business, and also furnish abstracts of title.

The agricultural implement business, together with wagons, buggies and engines, is an extensive one in Greeley. The largest operators in these lines are F. E. Smith & Company. Their warehouse has a frontage of one hundred and fifty feet. Their sales amount to about $40,000 per annum. Mr. Smith is a graduate of Cornell University, and although he conquers some leisure for literary and scientific pursuits, he is a most thorough and successful business man. Coming here penniless, after graduating in 1878, he has succeeded in building up a fine business and adding yearly to his savings. He had the good fortune of being able to gain the hand and win the heart of Dr. Emerson's daughter Minnie, who, besides being a most excellent and judicious wife and mother, also conquers for herself leisure not only for practice in instrumental and vocal music, in both of which she is a proficient, but also for solid reading and study; so that these two grow together beautifully side by side.

His partner, Louis Haynes, is one of our high school graduates, and is said to be an expert in book-keeping. He is of a most amiable disposition and winning manners, and hence a valuable associate in transacting business. The candor and integrity of both place their credit and business honor on a high footing.

The other parties in this business are Peter Huffsmith, who has a two-story brick building for handling his stock in this line, and sells about $30,000 per year; next J. Max. Clark, who runs this business in connection with blacksmithing and the coal business—sales in this line $25,000.

R. Patterson also carries a heavy line of implements in connection with his potato warehouse; Farr & Taylor in connection with blacksmithing and Southard & Clayton in connection with the lumber business. It is probable that the total sales in this business reach $120,000 per annum.

There are three firms transacting business in lumber and other building material. Wood & Mayher are perhaps the most extensive operators, and handle yearly about two hundred car-loads, J. K. Thompson about one hundred and twenty, and W. L. Clayton, who has gone into the business recently, about fifty car-loads. The total sales of building material in this line must reach about $120,000. On an average, there are 1,600,000 brick burned, and 500 car-loads of stone are shipped in for building and flagging of streets. Stone is cheaper than brick for foundations; costs about $30 per car-load. About 1,000 cars of stone will be shipped in this year. Brick are of a superior quality, but cost much more than in Denver. Laid in the wall they cost $12 per thousand. Wages for all kinds of labor are high, but this is especially the case with those of bricklayers, first-class workmen getting $6 per day. Pressed brick are made at the tile factory, but not of the finest quality. Some are also made at our two brickyards, which are run respectively by D. F. Camp and E. M. Nusbaum.

In the line of livery stables Greeley is well supplied. Besides two of the ordinary, inferior kind, it has two of brick facing the railroad between the passenger and freight depots, each with a side of 115 feet. The first erected belongs to Mrs. Graham, widow of Samuel Graham, and is run by S. W. Bullard. But the one most worthy of mention is the Mansion Stable, the property of W. A. Miner. This stable is said to be the finest in the state, Denver having nothing to compare with it in the completeness of its appointments.

The main building is 50 by 115 feet, two stories high, with a cellar under it for manure of 36 by 46 feet, 9 feet high. There are four dump holes into the cellar and an inclined way from the corral to back into the cellar to haul away the manure. It is walled with a heavy stone wall. Over the first floor, where the stalls and office and harness room are, is storage for one hundred tons of loose hay and straw; also bins for 150,000 pounds of oats. On the west is a one-story lean-to for the carriages, 22 by 70 feet. The hay and grain are raised to second floor by horse power, and it is expected to put in a water motor from the water works, if it can be done economically, and then it is intended to have the horses cleaned by a brush run by machinery. The stable with its appointments has cost $15,000.

One of the most important enterprises to the agriculture of this region is the tile factory recently started about three miles west of Greeley, near the Greeley and Salt Lake railroad, at which the Tile Company has a switch. This undertaking is principally due to the exertions of W. R. McClellan, who experimented for a number of years with different kinds of clay before he could get the combination that would answer the purpose. This factory, besides supplying the home demand, has many orders for shipment. In addition to being used for draining wet land, it is coming extensively into use in town to run water in the small ditches for irrigating purposes. When these are open they are constantly being obstructed by leaves, and not so sightly as they were pictured in early accounts of the sparkling rills threading our streets in every direction. If water could be run steadily in them there would be less objection to these small, open ditches, but it cannot be done, and is not needed, and when they are empty they are neither agreeable to the eye nor the nostrils, and are charged, with how much truth I know not, with being the chief cause of diphtheria and scarlet and typhoid fevers, to which we are subject in about the same proportion as other communities.

The Kuner pickle factory was started up last year, and purchased over half a million pounds of cucumbers and 600,000 pounds of tomatoes, to be canned in Denver. The pickles it has on hand here and in Denver are in excess of the demand, but it is expected to put up next season, at this place, about fifty acres of cabbage into sauerkraut. In the not distant future canning will be done here by this factory instead of at Denver, as the vegetables can be raised cheaper here.

A paper mill has long been one of the projects talked about as feasible for Greeley. One serious attempt was made, the chief promoter of it being Dr. Jesse Hawes. That, however, was abortive. The only one in the state is at Golden, and there is now a talk of having it removed to Greeley. So far as the principal part of the raw material is concerned, this would be a better point than where it is now situated, and there appear to be other respects in which this place would be more desirable than Golden.

The Greeley Creamery, owned and operated by J. W. Ewing, has a capacity of one thousand pounds of butter per day, and he makes an excellent article.

There are the normal number of persons for a place of its size engaged in the grocery, dry goods, ready made clothing, boots and shoes lines of business. We have three book stores—that of Miss Sawyer leading in that line, making that and stationery her special line of business.

The sum total of the volume of the business of the place may be inferred from the fact that the receipts at the depot are said by those supposed to be informed, to be over rather than under $30,000 per month. The railroad employes here refuse to give the figures, at least to the papers, knowing which fact the writer has not asked for them.

Some place the present population of the town as high as 4,000; the writer estimates it at 3,000.

We quote the following from the late illustrated number of *The Greeley Tribune* in reference to the Greeley post-office:

"The Greeley post-office, located in Park Place block, is one of the institutions of the city, and one of which its people are justly proud. The office is furnished with eight hundred boxes, all of the Morris keyless pattern, of steel, nickel-plated, each having a combination lock, thus doing away with keys. The uniformity in the boxes gives to the place a neat and attractive appearance. This year Greeley was created an office of the second class, its business having increased to the requisite amount.

"As a matter of fact, the office receives a larger amount of mail matter than any other in this part of the state, and a prominent official in the post-office department at Washington remarked that there was more mail matter handled in the Greeley office than in most Eastern towns of double the population. Such a statement proves conclusively that the people of this city and vicinity are a reading people. The following table shows the number of pieces of each kind handled during the month of September, just closed, and also the number of pieces for August, 1886, both months being among the dullest in the year:

| MONTH AND YEAR. | LETTERS. | | PAPERS. | | DROPS. | | POS'L C'DS. | | PACKAGES. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Rec'd. | Disp'd. | Rec'd. | Disp'd. | Rec'd. | Disp'd | Rec'd. | Disp'd. | Rec'd. | Disp'd. |
| September, 1889. | 29,075 | 31.937 | 27.481 | 22,317 | 3.374 | 9.161 | 3,177 | 4,792 | 582 | 318 |
| August, 1886.... | 21,660 | 22,350 | 17,985 | 20.250 | ...... | 4,530 | 2,620 | 3 480 | 450 | 220 |

"Of registered mail the number of pieces received during the same period was 139, as against 90 in 1886; and 157 pieces were dispatched, as against 107 in 1886. According to the above table, the increase in the number of letters received has been about 35 per cent, and in those dispatched 44 per cent. While for the same period the number of papers, magazines, etc., coming to the office have increased 50 per cent. The latter is a remarkable showing. This increase demonstrates conclusively that the population and business of the city is growing steadily and satisfactorily from year to year. R. H. Johns is the present obliging and efficient postmaster, assisted by Mrs. Johns and by George E. Duvall.

Greeley has just organized a Savings Bank, with a capital stock of $2,500. The following well-known gentlemen are stockholders: J. M. Wallace, D. H. Gale, Robert Hale, B. D. Sanborn, William Mayher, A. J. Park and J. A. Rankin. This is said to be the only savings bank in the state outside of Denver."

# CHAPTER XVIII.

TEMPERANCE, N. C. MEEKER CONCERNING—HORACE GREELEY—GENERAL CAMERON'S ACCOUNT OF ITS ORIGIN—DRUGGISTS IN GREELEY—PROHIBITION CLAUSE IN DEEDS—FIRST LIQUOR CASE, AND THE BURNING OF THE SOD HUT—TOWN ORDINANCE ON PROHIBITION—THE HOTCHKISS LIQUOR CASE—THE CASE OF SELLING LIQUOR ON THE P. T. BARNUM PROPERTY—THE RENEWAL OF THE CORPORATE LIFE OF THE COLONY—THE LAW AND ORDER LEAGUE—N. C. MEEKER ON PROHIBITION, IN "GREELEY TRIBUNE" IN 1871.

HAVING traced the history of what we may call material interests, let us now proceed to those of the moral, intellectual and religious nature. Foremost among these comes the temperance cause. Incidentally we have spoken of temperance in Greeley in contrasting our place with others in this respect. But a more formal statement of it is here needed both as to its inception, and the course it has taken since our beginning here.

In Mr. Meeker's circular letter of invitation, we find the following:

"The persons with whom I would be willing to associate must be temperance men and ambitious to establish good society," etc. Again in his Cooper Institute speech, he uses the following language: "Those who are idle, immoral, intemperate, or inefficient need not apply, for they will not be received, nor would they feel at home." So Horace Greeley, in endorsing the scheme, writes: "We advise temperate, moral, intelligent and industrious men to write him," etc.

From all this it appeared to the writer that none but strictly temperate men would have the presumption to join the colony. Now the only way that Mr. Meeker would have of knowing whether the persons wishing to join the colony had the qualifications above stated was from what they wrote him about themselves. If they were honest in their statements then no intemperate person could join without Mr. Meeker's consent. But upon coming here the writer found that not a few had joined who were habitual drinkers. Some it appeared had been allowed to join in order to get cured of the habit, but who nevertheless were opposed to licensing saloons. But there were also some moderate drinkers joined, who had no idea of giving up the habit, and who did not regard it as a disease of which they wished to be cured. The only light in which these men could be regarded as anti-liquor men was that they one and all were opposed to its open sale in saloons. Such men never refused to drink when away from Greeley, and many of them keep it in their houses and treat their friends to it there—all of which brings reproach upon the people of Greeley as a strictly temperance community. But on the whole, the great majority of the original colonists were total abstainers. A great many joined the colony here during the first year, most of them buying certificates of dissatisfied members who sold out and left, or who never came here, and sent their certificates to the brokers who soon commenced to do a profitable business in this line. So far as the writer knows, no questions of character or views upon the liquor business were asked of those who joined here. Of course they all knew what were the principles of the colony on these matters, and were expected to conform to them. A few old settlers, as we have seen, joined us and these were nearly all temperance men. Those who did not like us or our principles went to Evans if they wanted to live in a town.

It is here important to give the origination of the temperance principles of the colony, as presented by General Cameron in his Fourth of July speech before mentioned. The presentation is quite dramatic and wholly characteristic. The General was sometimes accused of not being quite sound on this subject, but on the whole it appears to the writer he was, and from the following he ought to have been :

"At first it was not settled that this should be so exclusively a temperance colony. The question was not discussed how far we should go in this regard until one night Mr. Greeley sent for me and asked me to meet him and Mr. Meeker in his office up stairs, in *The Tribune* building. Then Mr. Greeley said to us something like this :

"There are many places in the world you can go to and get drunk, but there are very few places that you can go to where you are obliged to keep sober. It is very easy to get drunk, but it is hard to keep sober. Now there are the husbands of good women who drink, and their wives want to save them; there are intelligent young men of great promise whose fathers and mothers want to save them from the evil influences of drink; there are sisters who have brothers they want to save; now I desire and am in earnest for humanity's sake that you people build up an asylum under the shadow of the Rocky Mountains, under new circumstances, where you will live by irrigation and flourish in a new clime, where a man can go and cannot get drunk. There are many men who desire such a place. What I desire in this matter is not for myself but for humanity.

"As he spoke, the tears came into the eyes of that great head, and the greatest emotion swelled that great heart. All commercial reasons, all other objections, all other objects floated from my vision, and Mr. Meeker, rising from the table at which we were sitting, said: 'That is the platform.' Mr. Greeley looked over to me and said, 'Mr. Cameron, what do you say?" We desire you to go with us, and we want you to become imbued with this spirit of humanity.' I arose, reached my hand across the table and took his extended hand in mine, and, with weeping eyes, we swore together that we would devote our lives to this purpose, to this ideal, to this inspiration until, with the aid of Almighty God, it would prove a success."

It would rather appear from the above that the General was a little reluctant to embrace an out an out temperance platform, and that he was carried along by his emotions. However, he had sworn an oath, and so far as the writer knows he never went back on it.

There was one relation which appeared to compromise the General. He soon went into the drug business with his father-in-law, J. B. Flower. There was nothing in the deeds to prohibit druggists from selling liquors as medicines. Town ordinances had to be made to regulate this sale and there was a good deal of discussion as to what these should be. The General had been a physician for a time as well as army officer and newspaper editor, and like, perhaps, nine-tenths of the medical profession, he believed that alcohol in some of its combinations was a most useful medicine, and he did not like to see its use in this direction hampered by needless and aggravating restrictions. However it was in this line of the sale at the drug stores that the chief difficulty arose. Dr. Tuttle early joined the colony and had been used by the locating committee to make several of the purchases of land from parties near the site of the town, and had in this way done good service, for which, however, he charged exorbitant wages. He had not the least regard for our temperance principles; in fact laughed at them. Unfortunately he took it into his head to build an adobe block for a drug store and commenced selling for medicinal purposes before there was any town ordinance to restrain him. The clause in the deeds could not prevent this and indeed there were no deeds granted until the spring of 1871. But Tuttle soon found the place too hot for him and sold out to Dr. Buchtel, a son-in-law of P. T. Barnum, but most unlike that gentleman in regard to temperance. Dr. Buchtel was followed by his brother, who was no better, and a suit was brought against him for selling liquor contrary to the ordinances. A compromise was effected on condition that

Buchtel leave, which he did, and since then there has been no more difficulties with the drug houses. The present druggists are temperance men, and their conduct in this line is all that can be desired. The drug house of Flower & Cameron was often suspected, but Mr. J. B. Flower was always a prudent man, and no ground of action was ever found against the firm.

It will now be necessary to give a history of the temperance movement here after the settlement of the colony. In the statements made by N. C. Meeker and Horace Greeley no special plan of restricting the sale of liquors was proposed. Indeed, nothing was said about prohibition. The emphasis was laid on the character of the proposed colonists as temperate or temperance men. But it was generally understood that there should be restrictions upon the sale, while the means of doing this remained an open question.

Now in order to restrict or prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors two ways were open; the one to leave it to municipal regulations to be adopted after the town should become incorporated; the other to make its sale on premises conveyed by the colony work a forfeiture of the title The former method was deemed unsafe and inadequate, because it could have been sold immediately outside of the corporate limits, and again the laws of Colorado might be so framed as to prevent a corporation from prohibiting its sale. Hence we see in the resolutions of June 18th, that the third one advises that a prohibitory clause be put in the deeds. But in this matter the masses were no more urgent than the executive committee.

In the minutes of that body for May 12th, we find the following:

On motion of General R. A. Cameron it was decided that the following clause should be inserted in the colony deeds, viz: "That it is a part of the consideration in this deed that intoxicating liquors shall not be manufactured, or sold as a beverage, nor shall gambling of any kind be permitted on the premises conveyed."

On June 18th, R. A. Cameron moved "That Judge Plato be requested to submit to the executive committee a form for colony deeds, both for village lots and outlying lands."

On the 27th this form was submitted, examined and referred back to him with suggestions for alterations.

The form finally agreed upon was, so far as this matter is concerned, "And also the farther consideration that it is expressly agreed between the parties hereto, that intoxicating liquors shall never be manufactured, sold or given away in any place of public resort as a beverage, on said premises; and that in case any of these conditions shall be broken or violated, this conveyance and everything therein contained shall be null and void."

It might be said that Judge Plato, who got up this instrument, was a lawyer of high standing at the Illinois bar, had been in fact on the bench of that state, had come here at the same time that Searle came and was from the same town. But, unlike the last named gentleman, instead of making an effort to break up the colony, he went to work with all his might to make it a success. He was early made a member of the executive committee and, though differing in many things from his associates, he rendered valuable assistance for trifling remuneration.

It will be seen that the clause about gambling, which appeared in the General's motion, was left out; why, I have never learned.

An objection raised afterwards by lawyers to the form of the liquor clause was that it appeared as a consideration given by the grantee whereas it was a restriction or reservation made by the grantor. Another criticism was that although it said the conveyance should be null and void, it did not explicitly say, as it ought in a perfect instrument, that the title should revert to and remain in the grantor—the colony. These have been pointed out as points of weakness and left in the minds of some doubts as to the issue of a contest in the court. However, that is supposed to have been put at rest by a decision in a case brought by Colorado Springs where the clause was an exact copy from Union Colony deeds.

But none of these deeds were granted until April, 1871, and hence until then could have no influence in the sale of liquor; but as the colony had title to the land it could directly prohibit sale on its own premises. However there was a quarter-section of land on the northeast corner of town in which the colony could only get a half interest, the other half being owned by the heirs of the Lemon estate. A Mr. Smith, of Evans, was one of these heirs and had possession of the only building on the place—a sod hut. This hut he rented to an Evans saloonkeeper, who was a part of the tail-end of the first settlers of Evans when it was a railroad terminus and in all respects like the Sheridan which Mr. Meeker has described for us in the first part of this volume.

The first information of this was given on a Sunday when the people were assembled for worship, and at the close of the services General Cameron proposed that the congregation move on the saloon *en masse*, which accordingly was done. With Jesus he believed it lawful to do good even on the Sabbath day. The intention was to talk to the saloonkeeper and remonstrate with him. He was called out and a proposition made to buy him out. This was about to be accepted when it was found that the hut was on fire. Those present made many sham efforts to extinguish the flames, but of course without avail.

Prosecutions were entered against certain young men, some of whom saw fit to leave, among them Ralph Meeker. But the noise of this was spread all over the land, and just how earnest we were on the temperance question was no longer a matter of doubt.

Various devices in the way of prohibitory ordinances have from time to time been adopted by the municipal government; many of them were crude and poorly digested contrivances, and generally have been easily evaded when cases have been brought up in court. The town authorities have been long enough at it now to be able to prepare an ordinance that will stand the strain of our legal quibblers. This is the last effort in this direction :

### "ORDINANCE NO. 37.

"CONCERNING THE SELLING OR GIVING AWAY OF INTOXICATING, MALT, VINOUS, MIXED OR FERMENTED LIQUORS

("Passed September 12, 1887, published in *The Greeley Sun*, September 24, 1887.)

"*Be it ordained by the City Council of the City of Greeley, State of Colorado:*

"SECTION 1. All persons are hereby prohibited from selling any intoxicating, malt, vinous, mixed or fermented liquors, within the corporate limits of the City of Greeley, or within one mile of the outer boundaries thereof, except as hereinafter provided; and all persons are hereby prohibited from giving away ary such intoxicating, malt, vinous, mixed or fermented liquors in any street, alley, public park, hotel, boarding house, eating house, saloon restaurant, place of traffic, or place of public resort, or upon any vacant lot, within the City of Greeley, or within one mile of the outer boundaries of said city.

"SEC. 2. It shall be lawful for the City Council of said city, in their discretion, at any time, to grant a permit to any druggist doing business as such, in said city, for the sale of liquor for medicinal purposes only; and only upon the prescription of a physician authorized by law to practice medicine in the State of Colorado, and actually residing and practicing medicine in said city; but no such druggist shall sell, by virtue of such permit, unless such prescription shall designate by name the person for whose use such liquor is prescribed, and the kind of liquor prescribed, by its ordinary and usual name in the English language; nor shall such druggist be permitted to sell liquor as aforesaid, upon such permit, without keeping a book in which shall be kept and posted, each and every prescription as received and filled by him, and have such book, during business hours, ready for examination by any and all adult residents of said city. Any permit which may be granted by the City Council, as aforesaid, may be revoked by a resolution of said Council at any regular meeting thereof, and thereafter shall be of no force or effect.

"SEC. 3. Any druggist or other person, who shall sell or give away any intoxicating, malt, vinous, mixed or fermented liquors, within the corporate limits of said city, or within one mile of the outer boundaries thereof, contrary to the provisions of this ordinance, shall, on conviction thereof, be fined for each offense, not less than fifty dollars nor more than three hundred dollars, and costs of suit.

"SEC. 4. Any druggist, or other person, fined under the provisions of this ordinances who shall not pay such fine and costs assessed, shall be confined in the city jail, or other place provided by the city for the incarceration of offenders, until such fine and costs shall be fully paid; or such person may be required to work for the city, within or without such jail, or other place provided by the city for the incarceration of offenders, not exceeding ten hours for each working day, and for such work, such person so employed, shall be allowed, exclusive of board, two dollars per day for each day's work, on account of such fine and costs; provided, that such imprisonment shall, in no case, exceed ninety days for any one offense."

It will be seen how minutely circumstantial the ordinance has to be to baffle the perverse ingenuity of the liquor vendors. In comparing the above with the clause in the deeds, it will be seen how many cases the ordinance can reach which are wholly outside of the stipulations of the latter. Hence the real efficiency of prohibition in this town will always depend upon the city government, and that upon the will of a majority of the people.

We have sketched briefly the difficulties connected with the sale by the drug stores. We now shall take up two important cases which at the time drew a great deal of public attention.

The first of these cases came up in the latter part of September, 1877. A man by the name of William A. Hotchkiss had rented from its proprietor, J. V. R. Spencer, then residing in Denver, a building on Main street, where he was ostensibly running a boarding house, but was selling liquor on the sly. At length a case was made out against him, and he was brought before Justice Joseph Moore. The first case did not succeed, owing to a few of the jurors not agreeing. But another was brought, and he was found guilty of three violations of the liquor ordinance, and was fined on each count $100. The constable allowed him to go around on parole of honor, and happening to get hold of some money, he hired Mr. Whitney to carry him to Julesburg with a fast team, starting in the night. In this way he evaded pursuit, and indeed no very strenuous efforts were made to capture him, his absence being what was wanted.

Although this was a case that would have come under the confiscation clause of the deeds, no movement was made by the Colony board to that end, I suppose for the reason that the property belonged to an innocent party absent and not knowing to the fact. Mr. Meeker, the president of the board, was then present, as was also the writer, the other three members being S. D. Martin, B. S. LaGrange and Samuel Blodgett.

The next important case came up in February, 1882. A stranger had rented a room in the upper story of the Barnum block of Haynes & Dunning, agents of P. T. Barnum, as a sleeping room, and commenced selling whiskey in secret to confederates, who were admitted by giving a peculiar rap on the door. The United States marshal was informed of this, and, by using a detective, succeeded in getting proof of the party's guilt. He confessed judgment and paid the fine, and then there was a demand made on the part of some of our influential citizens to have the colony trustees bring an action against Mr. Barnum to procure the forfeiture of his property. The writer was then president of the board and believed that such a movement would neither be wise nor just, and the remainder of the board was of the same opinion except Thomas Mimmack. Those in favor of proceeding brought all the pressure they could to bear upon the board. The president and J. C. Shattuck, who was then State Superintendent of Education, had a correspondence on the subject. B. H. Eaton, who had just built a costly residence in Greeley, wrote from Denver a letter to J. Max. Clark, which was turned over to the president, urging in the strongest terms that we go on with the prosecution. A meeting of the lately formed W. C. T. Union was called and the names of prominent speakers announced, many of whom were conspicuous by their absence. Some evaded the question. The principal and last speaker was J. C. Shattuck, husband of the lady who presided. He spoke strongly in favor of prosecution, and as there was no opportunity to reply at that time, the arena of the debate was transferred to the columns of *The Greeley Tribune*, in which appeared in the successive issues two articles aside between the president of the colony and the above named gentleman. Hot and unkindly words as well as arguments passed between these two, who up to that time had been fast friends and had worked together for years for what they deemed the public welfare, and in no long time afterwards the old cordiality and confidence was restored. In the mellow evening of life's declining day the writer flatters himself that he can dispassionately set down the arguments pro and con "extenuating nothing nor setting down aught in malice," and then let the reader judge whether the board acted prudently and justly in refusing to prosecute.

The president of the board was accused of inconsistency in now showing reluctance to prosecute when, a year before at a public meeting in the heat of debate, he had said that in the matter of prosecuting he would "set his foot far as he who dares set his foot farthest," and that in his official capacity as executive officer of the colony, if a clear case should be made out, he would commence action for recovery of the property to the corporation. He was also accused of being an unworthy successor of N. C. Meeker.

To the last it was replied that the Hotchkiss case was a much clearer and stronger case than this, and that then N. C. Meeker was here and presiding at the meetings of the board, but that he had not taken any action nor recommended any to that body. In regard to the other, it was replied that consistency is often, as Emerson says, the "hobgoblin of little minds." But above all, the case did not either appear a strong one or a righteous one. In addition there were complications. In the opinion of many, the whole Barnum block was liable to forfeiture, while in the opinion of the Board only that part of it was which occupied the lot on which the liquor was sold. This would have made a very awkward division of the property, as it would have cut in two or three "Barnum Hall." If the property had been deeded to Barnum in a single conveyance the forfeiture might have held against the whole. But as the colony policy only conveyed a single lot to one man, there were as many conveyances as lots, and each deed only made null and void the title to the premises conveyed. This was one of the points that mature reflection made forcible, and which did not occur in impromptu debate.

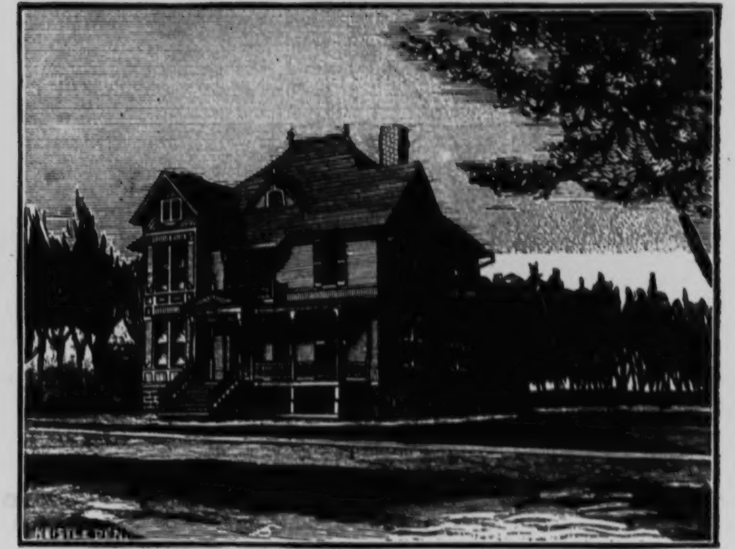
But assuming that it was advisable to get a slice out of the middle of this block if we could, there were grave doubts about this offense coming under the forfeiture clause in the deed. Being an upper interior room, in a large building, and being, by the agent, in good faith rented as a sleeping room, and as the traffic was carried on so hiddenly that no citizen, except those in the secret, knew of its existence until the arrest of the offender, by means of a paid detective, came like a thunder-clap in a blue sky; it appeared doubtful if it could be considered a *place of public resort.* No such doubt could have been entertained about the Hotchkiss case, yet that had been allowed to pass both by the unanimous consent of the board and at least by the silent approbation of the people. This had been passed over for reasons which appeared stronger in the Barnum case than it was in the case of J. V. R. Spencer, the owner of the property in which Hotchkiss had sold liquor. Spencer was absent in Denver and there was no reason to believe that he knew what was going on, since being a good temperance man it was presumable that he would not have knowingly allowed it. All this was stronger in the Barnum case since Hotchkiss had carried on the business for a long time, and so little concealed that it had become universally observed. But it was urged that P. T. Barnum was a rich man while Spencer was poor, and that Barnum would only regard the seizure of his property as a good joke, which would give him so much delight to relate in his temperance speeches that he would feel far more than compensated for the loss of a paltry piece of property in Greeley. But if it were unjust, the board were unwilling to afford Mr. Barnum that piece of pleasure. Besides it was felt by many that to even undertake such a case, which would be in the courts for years, would throw so serious a shadow upon titles as to injuriously affect real estate values. It was felt that if such cases were to be prosecuted, no one could temporarily rent his private residence lest some one might be found to have sold, or given away a drink of whisky in its garret. Indeed it was said in debate by a member of the colony board, that the Methodist church was just as liable to forfeiture as Barnum Hall, since a member, who, we suppose, by the very act, had fallen from grace, had not only given away, but sold whisky within its sacred precincts.

A very general inquiry had led the president to believe that not more than one in ten of the people were in favor of proceeding, and he so expressed himself at the public meeting. He was followed by J. Max. Clark who, in *The Tribune* for February 22, 1882, is reported to have said:

"I think Mr. Boyd is right about the Barnum property. That there are undoubtedly ten to one against confiscating the property, and I am ashamed to say that it meets with less encouragement from the temperance people than from the rowdies. I think that ignorance should be no excuse, but it takes money to prosecute. For instance, it takes from $300 to $500 to prosecute on a town ordinance, and then the board puts the fine to only twenty dollars. Still if we don't prosecute now there will never again an attempt be made."

So, in accordance with the view last expressed, he went to work and got up a subscription for an attorney's fee to give advice on the case. Months were spent before the legal points could be made out and then it was to the effect that there was only a case that could be possibly carried. Still Mr. Clark was so in earnest that he was willing to go ahead provided he could get a subscription sufficient to carry it through the courts. But he found that when it came to paying out money, instead of shouting for a cause, it was quite another affair. Perhaps, too, when men had time to look over the matter coolly, they changed their minds as to the justice and prudence of the measure. This was no doubt the case with B. H. Eaton, who, as we have seen, was so eager for prosecution at the start, and who refused to subscribe a cent for the prosecution of the case.

The writer resigned as trustee of the board about this time, for quite other reasons than the matter under discussion, and was followed in his place by Eli Annis, whose wife was a prominent member of the W. C. T. Union, and who himself was known to be in favor of prosecution. But the board did nothing, partly because that there were no funds, which was one of the reasons that the board could not from the first proceed alone. But I believe that it was now understood the colony board would go ahead provided a sufficient sum could be guaranteed. But Mr. Clark got so indifferent a support that he threw up the business in disgust. The writer and his friend always



RESIDENCE OF GEO. W. CURRIER.

differed to some extent in their views upon this case, but they did it without losing temper, or without either losing respect for the disinterested motives of the other.

This case has already been under review longer perhaps than the merits of it warrant. But both because of the intense interest that it excited at the time and because of the regret still expressed by the few who were in favor of pushing the case that it was not, it may be regarded as *the* case during the twenty years of the existence of Union Colony. The ability and character of those few give their views a weight wholly disproportionate to their numbers. So the writer hopes it will be pardoned if he closes this review with an extract from one of the articles he wrote on this occasion, and for the additional reason that it throws some light on another aspect of colonial history.

"The colony during its whole existence has had only three causes at law, and in each it was in self-defense, and won all of them. The last one has just been won and its prosecution affords my excuse for remaining for the last year on the board, where I have no longer any special reason for continuing. This exemption from litigation, I believe, has been due largely to the moderation and patience alike of the officers and people of the colony. With the people at large I have no fault to find. In general I have had their confidence and support to a degree that will be gratifying to remember. Neither will the conduct of a few with whom I differ, in the matter of the duty of the Colony Board in this case, make me cold or indifferent in the cause of temperance. I am well aware that the argument is not all on my side. Were it generally understood that the colony would not proceed except the owner of the property was the offender, then there might as well be no condition in the deed. But each case should stand on its own merits. Where there can be the least suspicion of the connivance of the owner, or even of his agent, the colony should proceed. However, as a matter of fair play, I think the agent, or owner, if present, should be first notified, and then if he did not do all within his power to stop the sale, no clemency should be shown him.

"Again it must be remembered that the colony goes out of existence by statutory limitation in eight more years. Whether then Greeley will continue a temperance town, or go the way of nearly all the rest of the world will depend upon the will of the majority of its inhabitants. Hence it is well to begin in time to rely on other resources than forfeiture of property to the colony. Indeed it will afford me far greater satisfaction, should I live to see the twentieth anniversary of Union Colony, to know that not a single parcel of property shall have reverted to Union Colony during all these years, while at the same time Greeley is the most thoroughly *temperate* town in the state. Temperance secured under the standing menace of forfeiture would be but a sorry result compared with that of a self-controlling, self-regulating community, alike refraining from the use and prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors. Would that prohibition were not necessary. Would that reason were the master in every man's make-up, and that restraint were exercised from within, rather than imposed from without. But in the absence of this it is well to make the opportunities for this, as for all other vices, difficult. In this way a decent exterior will at least be maintained, but true reform must seek to mend men at the core of their being. Meanwhile as the morning of spontaneous virtue is slowly dawning towards the perfect day, disorder and diseased appetites must be restrained."

Well, so far as the writer's prayer relates to the non-forfeiture of property is concerned, within the twenty years, it is likely to be fulfilled, as at this writing it is less than a month until the completion of that period, and there is now no case up to which forfeiture is applicable. The Hamman case is in the Superior Court, wholly upon the question of whether there was any town ordinance in existence at the time when he was prosecuted for the violation of one, since this ordinance was passed at a special meeting of the city council, and there was no record on the minutes that the proper notice had been given the members of this meeting. But if the case were decided as to the violation of a town ordinance then would come the question of whether the compound had been sold as a medicine or a beverage.

The Rogerson case, that cost the town some $800, has been dismissed for the reason that not sufficient testimony could be brought forward by the prosecution to convince all the jury that liquor had been sold. It is the hardest kind of an undertaking to secure a conviction of a liquor-seller, for the reason that in order to be a witness there is need of bad faith on the part of him who testifies. It is only sold on honor. If he testifies to the truth, his statement stands rooted in dishonor, and hence many jurors are prone to be skeptical about his veracity. But in this case the principal witness was allowed to get away. The most of these drinking fellows will do anything for a bribe of ten dollars on one side or the other.

However, as regards one point referred to in the article quoted from *The Tribune*, the writer was somewhat in error. It is highly probable that even after the dissolution of the colony organization, a prosecution could have been brought for forfeiture by the colony, through the instrumentality of the trustees who survived the extinction of its corporate existence. The law on corporations provides that the directors in existence at the time of such dissolution or their survivors shall be able to dispose of the property of the stockholders for their benefit, and as every stockholder in the colony had a contingent right to all lands conveyed by the colony, then these directors had a right to act for those stockholders so long as any of them survived, or as the contingency lasted, which was perpetual. But this aspect of the case has been entirely changed by a law which H. T. West drew up with his own hand, and which was passed by the last legislature. This was to the effect that colonial corporations would be allowed to renew their corporate existence for twenty years longer by a majority vote of all the stock of such stockholders. The lawful call was made and due notice given, and on the 18th of March, 1890, an election was held, the result of which was that 3,334 shares of stock was voted out of a total of 5,000 shares, and *all for the renewal.* Letters were written to nearly every state in the Union, by Joseph Moore, to the stockholders, asking them to furnish proxies, and this was done in a most cordial and friendly spirit by those who are no longer with us, but who rejoice in our prosperity and in our success in keeping Greeley a temperance town. *P. T. Barnum sent his proxy all the way from London,* where Mr. Moore's letter reached him. Great praise is due Mr. Moore, now so far advanced in years, for the energy, zeal and good sense he has displayed in this matter. For eighteen years we have not been able to have an election of trustees for the colony since most of the stock was held by absentees, and they were indifferent about who were the officers. But when it became a question of danger concerning our temperance cause, then the old colonists rallied with becoming spirit.

It may be here added that there is in existence in Greeley a Law and Order League, the business of which is especially to see that the ordinance against the sale of intoxicating liquors be enforced. There is also pledged by the members of this league a large sum of money to be used either in detecting the violators of the ordinance or their prosecution when found. So the town, which N. C. Meeker founded and Horace Greeley aided and fostered, is yet worthy of its illustrious parentage, and so far, is realizing their benevolent hopes; and here it appears to the author that his chapter on the history of temperance in Greeley were most suitably closed with an extract from an article written on this topic by N. C. Meeker in *The Greeley Tribune* for November 15, 1871.

"A simple computation in regard to this accumulation [from savings of the temperate] will convince any one that in the course of a few years, such a widespread community must in the nature of things become immensely rich, and if the temperance principles are adhered to for a few generations the wealth of all the rest of the world, will, in comparison, seem insignificant. Still greater advantages will arise from firmly maintaining the temperance ground we have taken, which will be found in higher types of manhood, in enlarged mentality, and in gradual extinguishment of taste, not only for alcoholic stimulants but for all other stimulants, upon which the moral character will become greatly expanded.

"To some these thoughts may seem visionary, but so far from being such, they are dictated by sound common sense; nor do they enter into plans which we propose to adopt, but into plans which we have adopted, and which we have triumphantly put into execution, and this without any other effort than the exercise of watchfulness. It may be after all, that human nature is to triumph in a great degree over intemperance—it may be that we ourselves are leading in the performance of this great work, and that, in the future time we shall be visited by the good from every land to study our methods or to end their days in our midst. To carry out an object so transcendently beneficent, we have only to be as faithful in the future as in the past; and certainly having known how to strangle the demon of rum for nearly two years we have learned how to strangle it for all time to come."

# CHAPTER XIX.

EDUCATIONAL—EARLY INTENTION TO HAVE FREE SCHOOLS—SCHOOL FIRST SUMMER—SCHOOLS BEFORE THE BUILDING OF THE HIGH SCHOOL EDIFICE—DIFFICULTY OF RAISING FUNDS FOR THIS BUILDING—OTHER SCHOOL BUILDINGS AND BONDED INDEBTEDNESS OF THE DISTRICT—THE SALARIES OF TEACHERS—SCHOOL OFFICERS OF THE DISTRICT AND THE DIFFERENT PRINCIPALS OF THE SCHOOLS—OTHER TEACHERS MENTIONED—SCHOOL CENSUSES AND ATTENDANCE OF SCHOOL—COST PER MONTH PER PUPIL AT DIFFERENT PERIODS—GREELEY COMMERCIAL COLLEGE—TEACHERS' ASSOCIATIONS AND GREELEY—PART GREELEY MEN HAVE TAKEN IN THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION IN THE STATE—GRADUATES OF THE HIGH SCHOOL AND WHAT THEY ARE DOING—STATE NORMAL SCHOOL AT GREELEY—GREELEY LIBRARY—A FREE LIBRARY THE INTENTION OF THE FOUNDERS OF THE COLONY—THE LOTTERY SCHEME TO PROCURE A LIBRARY—REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF A MASS MEETING THAT DISCUSSED THE LOTTERY SCHEME—OTHER ATTEMPTS TO FOUND A LIBRARY—THE SCHOOL DISTRICT LIBRARY—ORGANIZATION OF THE GREELEY LIBRARY ASSOCIATION—THE LIBRARY NOW SUPPORTED BY THE CITY.

FREE schools were a principle believed in by the first settlers of Greeley. Accordingly, the first summer a frame building was purchased by the colony, and the teacher's wages paid for the time being by subscription. Mrs. Guinney, sister-in-law of Doctor Scott, taught our first school. The number of pupils enrolled was fifty-four.

Many of the families did not come on until houses were built, hence the number of school age was small during the first summer. The coming winter these increased so that three teachers were employed. E. W. Gurley taught the higher classes in "Colony Hall," which was seated for that purpose. The other two taught in the "Tabernacle." Alice Washburn taught here before becoming the wife of C. W. Sanborn, then one of our leading lumber merchants. M. B. Knowles also taught one winter in the "Tabernacle," being employed especially to bring certain unruly boys to time, which he most effectually did, and also succeeded admirably in teaching for a man of his age and antiquated methods.

J. C. Shattuck followed E. W. Gurley as principal, and taught two years, or while the school was held in Colony Hall. He was elected, soon after quitting teaching, to the lower branch of the Territorial Legislature.

The schools of those days were hard to teach. The rooms were not well arranged for the purpose. The children had come from all parts of the country, and hence been taught under different systems or no systems, and had made quite different degrees of progress along the different lines of study, and on the whole we had an undue proportion of bad boys. It took some years before the school could be graded to any satisfactory extent. From all this it happened that our schools were far from models during the first three years, though we had such educators in them as J. C. Shattuck and Oliver Howard, who also taught one winter in the "Tabernacle." Neither of these gentlemen gained the reputation of good disciplinarians. Remus Robinson followed J. C. Shattuck. He had had the experience of his life from manhood up in the schools of New Jersey, either as teacher or county superintendent, and in certain ways was a very successful teacher and manager of schools. Soon after he came the new school building was occupied, and we will now have to give a history of its erection.

This building was completed in 1873, and cost $25,000. It required a good deal of courage on the part of both the school board and the people to erect a building at such a cost during our infancy and in the face of the many discouraging circumstances which have been related in the foregoing pages of this history. Hence, while the board received the support of the majority, there was a strong opposition to building so extensive a structure at this time.

An excavation was made and a foundation laid in the autumn of 1871. J. L. Brush was then president of the board, L. W. Teller treasurer and William H. Post secretary. This work had been paid for from money realized from sale of lots donated by the colony. A half block was also donated for the site. The rest of the block has from time to time been purchased by the school board from the individual owners.

Much more money was expected to come from sale of town lots towards the school building fund, but this was used in ways before named and was the cause of bitter contention between the town and country party. That a large part of the money from this source should go into a school building was to be expected from the New York constitution, and in accordance with this view quite a number of lots had been set apart for this purpose, and were sold for the most part by the colony when it sold at auction other lots and lands on purpose to enlarge Number Two. Much of the money from the sale of the school lots so called had to be used to pay for the work on the canal, and the Colony Board faced the responsibility of making this diversion.

The failing of funds in this direction suspended operations on the building until the summer of 1873. Heavy special school taxes for building purposes were levied for some years, and a law passed by the legislature enabled school districts to issue bonds for the erection of school houses. Fifteen thousand dollars of such bonds were issued. The rate was 12 per centum per annum, and it was with difficulty and delay that they were negotiated at 90 per centum. These old bonds have been paid up long ago, and new ones issued to put up additional buildings. The sum the district owes of these obligations is $22,500, at the rate of seven per centum per annum.

There have been erected, besides the above, seven school houses at an aggregate cost of $30,000. Three of these are in the country across the river, since the district extends out as far as the colony lands to the north and east. One of these country schools is a brick building, in which two teachers are employed. It cost about $6,000.

This great extension of the district is not desirable, so far as ease of management is concerned, on the part of the board. But no doubt the country has better schools than if they were under local management, and sustained by local taxation. The town board has better facilities for procuring good teachers for these schools than would local boards, and the tendency is to be more liberal in paying salaries. Besides, the advanced pupils of the country schools have the same advantages of attending the high school as those of town, and this no doubt encourages a greater number to take the high school course than would if their parents had to pay directly for their education at the high school.

Mr. A. J. Wilber was County Superintendent at the time that the district was made of this large size, and advocated the theory that districts should be large, with numerous school houses to accommodate the younger pupils, and one central high school.

The school board elected in 1872 consisted of Arthur Hotchkiss, president; William H. Post, secretary, and J. C. Abbott, treasurer. Before the adoption of the state constitution all three were elected each year; from that time one a year for three years in succession. This board was continued the next year, and the school building was erected under its management and under the especial superintendence of the president, who was himself a builder by profession.

The board elected in 1874 were J. B. Flower, Oliver Howard and H.

T. West. In 1875 S. D. Hunter took the place of J. B. Flower, the rest of the board being re-elected.

Remus Robinson was succeeded as principal in the autumn of 1875 by F. J. Annis, a graduate of the Michigan State Agricultural College. He taught three years, when he resigned to accept the chair of chemistry in the Colorado State Agricultural College. For a young man of limited experience in teaching he did remarkably well, and succeeded in forming in the minds of many of the students under him an enthusiasm for learning and a pride in exact and precise scholarship. He afterwards went to Ann Arbor and graduated at the law school there. He has been practicing at the bar since his graduation at Fort Collins, and is now also doing admirable work at the Agricultural College as Secretary of the State Board of Agriculture and Experiment Station. His reports in this line are admirable, and will be of great value to the agriculture of the state.

The board elected in 1876 were David Boyd, J. C. Shattuck and J. L. Barrett. When at the next election for state officers J. C. Shattuck was elected State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Mrs. Thirza R. Wheeler was elected secretary in his stead, and since then that office has been filled by a woman. Mrs. Wheeler was followed by Mrs. J. C. Shattuck, and she in 1881 by Mrs. Mary M. Gallup, who retains that place at this writing.

D. Boyd resigned as president in 1876, on being elected county superintendent, and was followed by O. Howard, who had preceded D. Boyd as county superintendent. A. E. Gipson followed him in 1882, and held that office until his removal to Denver a few months ago. The office of president is now filled by Charles H. Wheeler, cashier of the Hunter & West bank and husband of the formerly mentioned secretary of the board. James Benedict was elected treasurer in 1881, and held that place until his resignation about a year ago, when he was followed by the present incumbent, George W. Currier.

W. C. Thomas, now the county superintendent of Weld, was principal 1879-'80, and was followed by Robert Casey for two years. Both of these were gentlemen of ability. Under the first the schools were graded and a complete course of study printed for the guidance of the corps of teachers.

The present incumbent, A. B. Copeland, entered upon his duties in 1882. He now performs the double duty of superintendent and principal, giving about equal time to each function. He is ably assisted in the High School by Ada B. Coates and Julia B. Harvey. The date is not distant when a superintendent will be employed exclusively for supervising the schools.

Mrs. A. K. Clark is the teacher longest in the service, commencing in the fall of 1873. She had just graduated from the State Normal school of Nebraska. She has steadily stuck to first primary work, and has a high reputation in that line.

Mrs. E. P. House is the next longest in the service, having commenced about thirteen years ago. She is now teaching in the grammar grade. She is an excellent disciplinarian, which is supposed to be especially desirable in that grade, from experience in our schools. In addition to this she is also a most thorough instructor.

A number of our own graduates are teaching. Jessie Dresser graduated in our first class 1880, and at first examination got a first grade certificate. The autumn following she was engaged as a teacher in this district, and has held the place up to this time, confining herself to primary work. Miss Grace Armstrong of the class of 1882, and Theodora Law of the same class, Julia B. Durkee of 1886, Marian Howard and Laverne Goodwin of 1887, and Kittie I. Marsh of 1888, are also teaching in the district. Grace D. Norcross of 1886 also taught three years, but has deserted the ranks and, as is usually the case with deserters, has changed her name.

The total teaching force numbers seventeen, including the music teacher. The school census for 1889 was 797, being some less than the year before, because a portion of the district on the southeast corner had been set off to form a new one. The census for 1880 was 523. The number of teachers in the latter year was only 6, including the principal. This shows a great reduction of numbers per teacher and a consequent increase of expense for teaching per capita. However, the enrollment of the school population has increased as compared with census. The total enrolled in 1889 was 740, giving a percentage of 92; the enrollment for '80 was 412, a percentage of 77. If the total enrollment for 1880 be divided by the number of teachers, it give 68 per teacher, while if the same is done for 1889 it gives only 46 for each.

Our total expenditures for 1889, exclusive of interest on bonds, was $19,738.76, which gives a cost per pupil per year of nine months of $27, or three dollars per month. In Denver for 1883 the cost per pupil per month was $2.90. Have before me no later figures from that city.

The number of persons of school age (then from 5 to 21) was 330, and the number enrolled 154. The cost per pupil per month for those enrolled for that year was $1.66. It remained the same to 1874, when the census was 498, enrollment 395, or nearly 80 per cent. In 1881 the cost per pupil was $2.22. The preceding figures show how there has been a steady increase of expenditure per pupil. This is partly caused by an average increase of salary, but more due to the relatively larger number of teachers employed. There was no music teacher employed until 1884. The salary paid last year to the one employed in that capacity was $800. The salary of the principal and superintendent is $1,500. Twelve other teachers receive each $70 per month, while three teaching in the country receive $50 per month. The twelve receiving the same salaries include the two teachers in the high school and the two in the grammar school, as also in the primary, and there is no discrimination made between experienced teachers and those who are only apprentices. The writer does not believe that this leveling process in salaries is either wise or just. He believes that wages should correspond to performance and not to effort, as Mr. Edward Bellamy would have it. Our directors seem to be anticipating the last part of the twentieth century of that social reformer. The only reason our board gives for this leveling of salaries is that it prevents complaint. But are we not likely to lose the best and keep the worst by it?

Of one thing in regard to our schools there is no doubt, and that is the steady gain of enrollment as compared with the census. We have seen that it was 92 per cent in 1889. We must remember that the census embraces between the ages of 6 and 21, and that there are quite a number of that age married. It is doubtful if there is another district in the state that has so high a percentage of enrollment. The percentage for the whole of Arapahoe county was 60, and as the country districts had an enrollment of 70 per cent, this gives for the city about 58 per cent. It may be farther stated that in our schools for 1889 the average attendance for those belonging was 92 per cent.

The laying of the foundation of our High School in 1871 ante-dated that of any school building of importance in the state. The corner stone of the Arapahoe school building in Denver was not laid until May, 1872, and until this edifice was erected Denver rented rooms for school purposes. There was school held in the Denver building one term before it was in ours.

In addition to our public school, a private commercial college has been in operation here in Greeley for six years. It has been running longer than any other institution of this kind in the state. Many others were commenced before it, but these institutions are usually ephemeral in contact with a well devised public school system.

This institution has been built up here by D. W. Elliott. He was for a number of years a teacher in the schools of the county. Before coming here, he tried a venture of the same kind in Denver, which failed to be remunerative. Then he looked over the whole field in this state and Wyoming, and decided at last to open up here, being principally influenced in making this decision by the fact that parents would be more likely to send their children to a temperance town than to one offering the temptation of saloons.

Mr. Elliott first rented "Barnum Hall," but his business overgrowing its capacity, he rented the spacious hall over the Hunter Opera House. But one difficulty has to be met here as in Denver. The excellence of our free public schools brings it about that but few from this place send to the Business College. Out of an attendance of seventy-five only seventeen are from Greeley. Parents who look only to a narrowly practical education for their sons and daughters, send them here for a year after they get through the grammar grade instead of giving them four years in the High School. To those wishing to give their children such an education, the presence here of this college affords an opportunity right at their doors, and this is a great advantage over having to send off to a distance, in more ways than one. It might farther be said in this connection that Greeley is perhaps the most economical place to board in the state, as board and furnished rooms can be had as low as $3.50 for these students.

The first Teachers' Association ever held in the state met in Greeley in the autumn of 1874, and was organized by A. J. Wilber when he was county superintendent. It is true that it was only a county association, but leading teachers were here from other parts of the state, notably, H. M. Hale, territorial superintendent, and Aaron Gove, lately arrived in Denver.

The first general association of teachers met in Denver in the early days of 1876, when the constitutional convention was in session, and in part formulated for that body the educational provisions of the organic law of the state.

J. C. Shattuck, A. J. Wilber, Oliver Howard and David Boyd attended this association, going there and back in a lumber wagon. Rates on the railroad were then five dollars each way, and funds were scarce with farmers during those grasshopper days, and all four were more or less engaged in farming. Of course they were all talkers and had their say in this important meeting. Two of the four are now life members of the Colorado State Teachers' Association by virtue of having attended all the fifteen sessions that it has held, a rule of the association making that provision. The other three so honored, are Horace M. Hale, president of the State University, Aaron Gove, superintendent of the East Denver Schools, and James H. Baker, principal of High School.

The association did Greeley the honor of holding its ninth annual session here, and at that session elected a resident of this town as its president for the coming year. The state also did us the honor of electing for three different terms J. C. Shattuck, superintendent of public instruction. As this gentleman was the first superintendent after Colorado became a state, upon him devolved to a great extent the formation of our public school system, which is recognized as one of the best in the United States. As a lecturer at the leading centers of the state he aroused a high degree of interest in educational matters, and has honored himself and us in the administration of the office.

The county has ever since 1872 elected its superintendents from Greeley. Incidentally we have mentioned the first three, who were liberal or skeptical in their religious views. These have been followed by three preachers, John Taylor, A. K. Packard and J. B. Cooke. The present incumbent, W. C. Thomas, has been a teacher in the higher branches for some fifteen years, and is eminently qualified for the place. He has taught in different parts of the state since he was principal here, as before recorded, and was superintendent of Lake county for one term; but his family has always lived in Greeley since he taught here.

These honors from state and county have been bestowed in recognition of the early stand the people of Greeley took in favor of the broadest and most complete system of education compatible with the material progress that underlies it, and we who are growing old see with pride that the same sentiment animates the rising generation.

In Appendix F will be found the different classes which have graduated from our High School, also the class soon to graduate. The total number is sixty-nine, of whom forty-seven are girls and twenty-two are boys. This is about the same ratio of the sexes as is generally found among high school graduates. All save one are alive. Evanthie C. Boyd, of the class of '77, died October 16, 1888.

In death's eternal silence sealed those lips
  That uttered for her class its fond farewell;
And severed soon those dear relationships,
  That bound her to it, with their magic spell.

The following graduates of our High School are in the State University: Psyche E. Boyd, Abram L. Mumper, Emery H. Bayley, Hattie C. Hogarty, Mary T. Hogarty, Maud C. Clark, John C. Nixon and Wesley W. Putnam. Greeley has more students in the State University than any other city in the state save Boulder, the city in which it is situated. Hubert Shattuck has graduated from Denver University, and Orville will this year and Everett F. Benedict next. D. Stockton Monahan graduated at the law department at the University of Michigan last year and has been admitted to the bar and is practicing in this place. Milton Cage also graduated from the same law school and has been practicing in Denver for some years. George N. Law is soon to graduate from the State School of Mines. Some dozen of the *alumnæ* have changed their names, but all the *alumni* remain even to this day bachelors so far as report has reached this writer. Co-education does not seem to be catching in a matrimonial point of view. Some ten of the girls are teaching, and our county superintendents say that they usually pass well in examinations. None of them have gone into the book or sewing machine agency business. Some are farming, some in business and many are keeping books, and all doing manly or womanly work—a credit to themselves, their friends, and our schools.

A fit conclusion of this view of our schools will be an account of the State Normal School located at Greeley by an act of the last legislature.

This was conditional upon the donation of a site of forty acres of land near Greeley and a contribution of $15,000 to go towards the erection of a building. This sum was paid into the State Treasury last summer by the "English Company" for the above purpose, and the greater part of the site also donated by the same party, the remainder by Mr. Cranford, of Brooklyn, New York, who owns a large tract of land near the location.

Plans were prepared by the State Board of Education for a building to cost some $125,000, a wing of which was to be built first, costing $25,000. This was the sum that was to go into the first building erected by the act of the legislature, and the state was to furnish the remaining ten thousand out of moneys not otherwise appropriated. This it was found would be zero or less, and so the Normal School Board was unable to proceed with letting the contract for the building. In this dilemma the people of Greeley were called upon to furnish this ten thousand by subscription, which was done in less than two weeks. Less than a year before $10,000 had been raised by subscription as a bonus to induce the Irrigation Pump company to locate its works here.

The names of the subscribers to this Normal School fund are given in Appendix E. However some are deserving of special mention here. Peter Breene, of Leadville, one of the Normal School Board of directors, subscribes $500; J. H. Young, of our formerly rival town of Evans, subscribes $200. The same amount is subscribed by A. G. McLeod, of Denver, a non-resident, but owner of real estate in Greeley.

The sum total for which securities are given is $11,185, which will all be needed. The contract has been let for $25,000, but leaves all the building unfinished save the first floor. The list is worthy of study as it illustrates how little relationship there is between liberality and financial ability.

What the free school is to the young, the free circulating library is to the adult. Both afford the means of extending knowledge, and of discipline in virtue. As the instruction at schools occupies nobly and helpfully the leisure during which the organs, faculties and functions are developing, being a humanitarian substitute for the education of the street, so the library affords the means of exercising the mind and heart during the leisure that may be won for this pursuit from the busiest, well-ordered life. The free library is also a powerful adjunct of the schools. Without doubt the young people from the grammar grade up in our schools use our library more in proportion to their numbers than the adults of the place. One of the choicest fruits of education is the taste it gives for reading the noblest productions of human genius. All wise teachers direct the minds of their pupils in that direction, and the tendency grows and helps to subordinate evil tendencies inherited from an ignorant, savage, brutal past.

So it was the intention of the founder of the colony, as will be seen in his circular letter, that there should be a free library and reading room established from funds derived from the sale of town lots. But we have seen where this money had to be used, and hence the generous intention had to be put off until we got our feet under us in an industrial direction. However, during the first winter a reading room was maintained principally supplied with periodical literature and some books donated.

It was always the expectation of N. C. Meeker that Horace Greeley would make us a donation for a library, but the death of that philanthropist and statesman, near the last days of 1872, blighted all hopes in that direction. Accordingly, at the close of the year certain Greeley men got up a magnificent lottery scheme to procure a library. One hundred thousand tickets were to be sold at one dollar apiece, three-fourth blanks, and $50,000 in prizes. The remaining $50,000, less expenses, were to be expended upon a library and reading room. The editor of *The Tribune* opposed the scheme with all his might, while it received a weak endorsement by the editor of *The Colorado Sun*. As this scheme excited the most lively interest at the time, it is well here to reproduce something of what was said upon the subject. As there are no files of *The Sun* we shall be forced to give the controversy from *The Tribune* side, and hence not to be able to do justice to the arguments offered in favor of the scheme. However we give the following paragraph from *The Sun* as quoted in the following issue of *The Tribune*:

"In our advertising columns is printed the full scheme of a lottery for the benefit of a library fund for the town of Greeley. Since custom has sanctioned this method of creating funds for useful purposes, we may as well avail ourselves of it, without questioning its propriety. The object is a good one, and the managers of the enterprise are prominent citizens who will deal fairly with the public, and may be relied upon. Those at home or abroad desiring to invest in the chances of this drawing need not hesitate because of any doubt as to its being a legitimate undertaking for the purpose named."

In *The Tribune* issue of December 25, 1872, we find the following:

"We notice, and we hear complaint, that a lottery scheme is on foot in this town. It is not likely that much progress will be made here, for our people generally have no faith in these games; but we take occasion to advise people at a distance that, although coming from Greeley, it is discountenanced and unworthy of confidence; and although claiming to have a literary character, none of the literary people have any hand in it. If we mistake not the scheme is unlawful, and ought to receive the attention of our magistrates."

In the New Year's number following we have an account of the discussion of this scheme before the Young Peoples' Literary association in the Methodist church.

Mrs. J. C. Abbott, sister of S. B. Wright, read a paper in opposition to the scheme of which this is the closing paragraph:

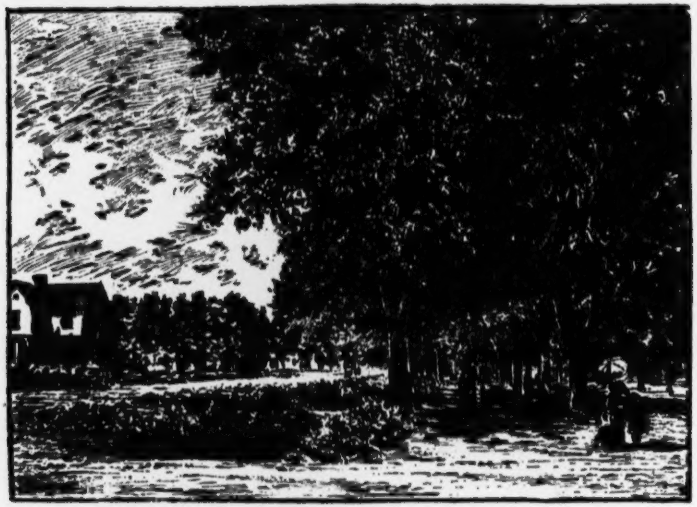
"I do not care if custom has sanctioned this method of raising funds for useful purposes; we all learned long ago that customs are not always right, that they frequently are not backed by good, sound principles; and no true man nor woman should avail themselves of schemes to enrich themselves at the public expense, however plausible it may appear, without first considering whether it be justifiable. You may say that the object is a good one and that the managers will deal fairly with the public; but allowing this to be true, I cannot see that it makes the lottery business any more honorable or worthy of patronage. The more honest and good the men are, who institute such schemes, the worse the influence. They tell you they do not ask you to give your money for nothing, but give you a chance to win a competence in a day, to which I say, remember the proverb, 'He that hasteth to be rich hath an evil eye, and considereth not that poverty shall come upon him.'

"N. C. Meeker—If I have a certain knowledge of anything in this world, and if my studies and labors have led to any definite conclusion on any one subject, it is that the people of this town and colony are in a mass opposed to selling liquor, opposed to immoralities of all kinds, and decidedly opposed to lotteries. This is an industrial community, not a speculative, dishonest one, and if we want a library or other literary advantages, we propose to pay for them, and do not expect to get other people, by any game or trick, to help us. Men make a great, a tremendous mistake in supposing that they can run any such thing in this town, and the sooner they come to understand it the better. We cannot afford to have these circulars go out for any amount of money; indeed I would not have them go out for all the money that can be crowded into this church. It is true we are not rich, but we have a reputation that is precious, and the men who got up this lottery did it with the intention of using this reputation of ours to float their dishonest scheme, and I object."

"Captain Boyd—When Mr. Greeley was a boy, and it was seen by some rich and influential men that he had great ability, they proposed to give him a classical education. But after due consultation his parents refused. They would do the best they could to educate him, but they would not be dependent on charity. Such independence I honor, and I say of this method of getting a library, we want no such assistance; we will not have it; we disdain it; we scorn it."

"Mr. W. H. Brockway said: Any one not personally acquainted with the manner in which this scheme was conceived and brought forth, would, by reading their circulars, immediately form the opinion that the town of Greeley, in its corporate capacity, had opened a monster gambling house for drawing for a public library. There is, to be sure, a resolution in very fine print, stating the nativity of the enterprise, but is surroundrd with such a vast display of 'laudable enterprise,' 'town of Greeley,' 'town library,. 'temperance town,' and appeals for aid, together with a description of the surrounding country, 'irrigating canals, 'colony fence,' 'town board,' 'colony trustees,' 'churches,' 'schools,' etc., that casual readers would conclude that their money would go directly into the town treasury, or at least into the hands of responsible parties under bonds to insure the safety of their investments.

"Under the scheme as set forth in the circulars, the town of Greeley stands in a position to receive all the odium, all the discredit attached to lottery schemes generally, and liable to arise from various causes, such as dishonest drawing, or a failure to draw at all, which is no unusual occurrence in the history of lotteries; while on the other hand what security have we, if the 100,000 tickets should be sold,



STREET VIEW, SOUTH SIDE SCHOOL HOUSE.

that the proceeds would be devoted to the purposes named? How do we know, after furnishing all the ammunition, that we would get any share of the game? Why, sir, we have the signature of five men, to that effect; and I venture the assertion that five thousand dollars could not be obtained in the territory on a joint note of hand executed by those same five men. I believe if the Army and Navy club or any other body of men takes the credit of a community into their hands, they should give some security to maintain it. It would be a hard matter for five-sixths of the property owners, even in this town, to borrow a hundred dollars without giving a trust deed, or some other real estate security, while here we are asked to lend our name, our fame, all we are, and all we hope to become, to this lottery scheme, under a board of managers, without any substantial security, three-fifths of whom could leave the territory within forty-eight hours from any given time and not be one hundred dollars out of pocket. I consider such a proceeding an imposition on good nature, an outrage on the town of Greeley, and I am sure that a more cheeky proposition could not be manufactured outside of a brass foundry."

"Colonel White, the chief manager of the lottery, made quite a speech, showing that this method of raising money is practiced in many places with approval, and he thought it singular that any one should object to having a good library; in fact, he believed every one would be glad to get it. He dwelt at considerable length on the practice of the churches in getting money by various lottery schemes, and he said, and several times repeated, that they were going to carry out the scheme—that he believed in pushing things—and he was going to push it.

"Mr. Wilber—Out of all the churches, the Free Church is the only one that does not gamble.

"S. B. Wright—If I understand this business, a deception has been practiced, in representing to people abroad that this lottery scheme has the indorsement of the town of Greeley, hence whoever buys a ticket can maintain an action against the managers for getting money under false pretenses.

"Mr. (Judge S. B. A.) Haynes made the longest speech, and defended the lottery by a great variety of arguments, but as it was afterwards charged that, as a lawyer, he had been engaged to make the defense, and he has not denied it, no farther report need be made.

"Two or three other speakers defended the lottery, mainly by the practice of the churches; in fact, every friend of the lottery stood with his back against a church, the result of which will undoubtedly be a radical reform in all the churches of Greeley.

"At the conclusion a vote was taken whether the lottery should be discountenanced, and almost the whole of the vast congregation arose to its feet in condemnation."

It has been thought best to give a large part of the report of the debate, since it reflects the spirit of the times, and also preserves the words of some who have not appeared in this history. The able speech of Mr. Brockway is especially worthy of notice. Here is a man that is engaged daily in the common avocations of life, in fact for the last ten years has been janitor at the High School, and he can get up when occasion demands and talk like a lawyer. It also seems good to the writer to quote a letter from a farmer on this subject. He wrote frequently for *The Tribune*, and we might preserve this as a specimen:

"*To the Editor of the Greeley Tribune:*

"Shall we exclude the rum-seller, but invite the blackleg? I would as soon tolerate the former as the latter. The desire to obtain money by gambling proceeds from an immoral, depraved condition of the mind, and should never be fostered or indulged any more than the appetite for strong drinks. Those who in any way incite its longings are surely sapping the virtue of the people. Church lotteries are evil, mainly because of their example and the excuse they afford, and I could never be induced to countenance them; yet the real poison infused into the mind is comparatively slight, because no one hopes to make money by attending them. The lottery of White & Company is calculated to produce as bad an effect on the minds of those who participate in it as any species of gambling, and should therefore be objected to with as much earnestness and unanimity as though it did not claim to have a public object in view. Yes, a great deal more, because it assumes an indorsement by the town, and who wants our fair name so stolen or thrown away? Let every one hasten to set himself right on this subject. I do not assume that the motives of those engaged in it must necessarily be wholly base, for we almost all do some bad things thoughtlessly; but the scheme, when closely examined, will be seen to be reeking with infamy. No party can make it respectable. The procuring a public library in that way would not be a credit to our town, but an everlasting disgrace. The robber is not justified because he builds churches, nor the rum-seller because he makes school houses, neither will the gambler be, if he founds public libraries. There are none worthy of honor except such as 'noble ends by noble means attain.' Let us all try not for the prizes in the lottery of $100,000, but for the willingness to earn our own fortunes.

"SAMUEL BLODGETT."

The town board had committed itself so far as to indorse the responsibility of the parties, but the club had announced that the members of the town board would attend to the drawing and so insure fair play. This it did without authority, and it called forth the following resolution, offered in that body by Joseph Moore and adopted by the board:

"*Resolved*, That the Board of Trustees of the town of Greeley do, for the honor of the town, and their own protection from unjust imputations, not having given their consent to supervise the drawing of said lottery, disclaim any connection whatever with the scheme."

Of course the Colonel was routed "horse, foot and artillery." Quite a sum had been expended in advertising, postage, etc., and at one time it was proposed to make up this sum to the projectors by subscription, but it was abandoned so far as the writer knows on account of the contumacy of the parties involved. It was hard on the Colonel, who was a Free Mason, that this fraternity just at this time repudiated a similar scheme gotten up in Omaha to build a temple for the Chapter of that order there.

With the exception of C. A. White, the men engaged in this scheme were of insignificant consequence; they have all left the place long ago, and the name of not one of them is remembered by the writer. The "Army and Navy Club" founded by them was likely a smoking, card-playing club, at which Greeley "saints" were roughly handled.

But of course those who had so strenuously opposed a library from this source were the very men who most wanted to see Greeley have a library procured in an honorable way. However, we were now entering on the four grasshopper years, and not much could be done as yet. An effort was made by a few, notably Charles H. Wheeler, A. E. Gipson, George H. West, Florence N. Haynes and the Rev. R. G. Thompson, at whose study we frequently met. Considerable sums were subscribed, with the understanding that they would be called for when a certain sum total should be subscribed, but as that was not reached, nothing was really accomplished farther than keeping open a reading room. Miss Haynes had, however, paid in her subscription, which was used in running the reading room, and she was never reimbursed.

The first part of our present library was purchased by the District School Board in 1880. The following is the account given of this matter in the report of that body for the year named:

"During the past year the board expended $400 in the purchase of a school library. This money was obtained from the sale of lots belonging to the district, the remaining part of those originally donated by Union Colony to this school district. The selection of books contains principally standard works in history, poetry, fiction, science and translations from the ancient classics. There are in all about 400 volumes.

"The Board of Directors is pleased to know that this action has met with cordial acceptance on the part of the people, and would recommend that annually a small sum be set apart for its augmentation. We earnestly recommend to the fostering care of the people this enterprise so auspiciously begun. We deem it of the highest importance that there is now within the reach of every one so many, we might say most, of the choicest thoughts, the richest experience of the wise and illustrious of all the ages."

The coming board did not take the hint to keep adding, except a few juvenile books, which class was almost wholly wanting in the first collection.

The next movement in this direction was inaugurated by J. M. Wallace, president of the First National Bank, in 1886. Subscriptions were opened with the understanding that they would be paid in when the total amount subscribed reached $2,000. This proposition was met with alacrity, and that sum was soon reached. Judge Wallace, besides subscribing one hundred dollars, gave the free use of a fine room in the First National Bank block for one year, and the library still remains there. Some six others subscribed one hundred dollars each, and the rest was contributed by the people quite generally.

A stock company was formed with shares of stock at $10 per share, and one of these entitled the holder to free use of the library, and all others could have the same for a contribution of one dollar a year.

A fine collection of books was now made, and the chief credit of it is due to F. E. Smith, whose extensive knowledge of books, good judgment and business tact enabled him to make purchases of the right kind at low figures in New York, where he attended to this while on business there for himself.

The school library was added to this and handled by the same librarian, but was, as before, free to all the district, a small deposit being exacted of each who wished to take out books, so as to insure the district against loss. Recently all of the school library having value chiefly for reference, has been removed to the High School for the use of the students.

Miss Florence N. Haynes was chosen librarian by the association, and remains still in that place. Her extensive reading and good taste in literary matters enable her to be of great use in guiding the young in making selections. Ability and experience in this line are of great value to the reading community.

About a year ago the stockholders donated the library to the city, which now defrays the running expenses. It sets apart yearly for the library $400, of which about $100 is available for the purchase of additional books. The management is in the hands of a board of seven—three from the City Council, two citizens yearly elected by the council, and two *ex-officio* members, viz.—the president of the school board and the superintendent of the city schools. All the stockholders of the old company have free use of the library, and others can become life members by paying one dollar. The number of volumes is about two thousand.

As an offset to what has been said in condemnation of the course of C. A. White in the lottery scheme, it is here to be recorded that this gentleman was Mayor of the city when the council, of which he was head, had the courage to undertake the control of the library, and provide for its continuous maintenance, so far as a changing body can legislate for the future. It is always important to take the first step, and backward steps are not likely to be taken in this direction in Greeley. There are many citizens, it must also be said, who admire as much his audacity in other directions as the writer does in this.

# CHAPTER XX.

SOME EARLY INSTITUTIONS OF GREELEY—THE LYCEUMS—ACCOUNTS OF THESE IN THE NEWSPAPERS—HOW A "FOURTH" WAS CELEBRATED AT THE LYCEUM—ATTITUDE OF THE PULPIT TOWARDS THE LYCEUMS—DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE GREELEY OF 1872 AND THE GREELEY OF 1890—CORRUPTION IN OUR POLITICS—FARMERS' CLUB—ITS ORGANIZATION—THE WORK IT UNDERTOOK AND WHAT IT ACCOMPLISHED—ITS DECLINE AND SUPERSEDURE BY THE GRANGE—AN ACCOUNT OF THIS BODY AND THE EDITOR OF ITS NEWSPAPER, A. J. WILBER—OTHER SECRET SOCIETIES IN GREELEY.

CLOSELY connected with the schools and library, as educational instrumentalities, stand the Lyceums and Farmers' Club of the early days. These formed one of the most notable features of what we may call colonial times. Taken together with our frequent mass meetings, at which were discussed questions of vital importance to the whole community, they made our town, especially during the winter season, a lively arena.

In coming to a country which offered so many new questions for solution, and presented so many new aspects of life, the minds, even of those past their prime, experienced a sort of rejuvenation. So too, being nearly all strangers to one another, each was ambitious to begin his new record as well as possible, and so put the best foot foremost.

Writing on this subject in *The Tribune* of January 3, 1872, N. C. Meeker says:

"On Thursday and Friday evenings Colony Hall was filled to overflowing on the occasion of the meetings of the two lyceums. It is impossible to make reports of the proceedings which give even a tolerable idea of the sprightliness and absorbing interest. In all our experience we have never seen such institutions so well sustained; and if we wanted to show strangers the best that is to be seen of Greeley we would have them visit the lyceums. There is still a deficiency in lady speakers, not because they are incompetent, but because they are timid. It seems evident that these lyceums are destined to exercise a powerful influence upon society, not only in Greeley but in Colorado."

In *The Rocky Mountain News* of these days we have several humorous descriptions from the pen of its Greeley correspondents on these gatherings. For instance:

"The town of Greeley is a delectable arena, for of the entire population three-fourths are members of clubs that are eternally in session. Day may sink into night, flowers may bloom and fade and the seasons roll round with the year, but Greeley clubs are unchangeable."

And again: "For a civil, social, religious, moral, temperance and anti-drinking community this place is certainly ahead of anything outside of heaven. They begin the week by singing the 'doxology,' and conclude it with 'Old Grimes.' Monday night there is a church festival, or some such lottery scheme; Tuesday night a 'war dance,' Wednesday night the 'Farmers' Club,' Thursday night the 'old men's lyceum,' Friday night the 'young men's' ditto, Saturday night the 'good tipplers,' and occasionally between times the Masons slip in a meeting and also the Odd Fellows; and the backbiters dodge in their share; and the sewing circles, the prayer meetings, the colony meetings, the singing meetings, with a little preaching and some prayer, together with an occasional temperance lecture by some peripatetic woman, besides what work they have to do fills up the entire week, and gives an activity to affairs that simply renders Greeley the most bustling community in christendom."

Still another touch from the same hand: "At the lyceum on Thursday evening the question of the removal of the National capital to the Mississippi Valley was satisfactorily settled to the audience, and therefore to the world at large. It cannot be removed to the 'City of the Plains' since the inhabitants of the aforesaid city, notwithstanding the Demosthenean appeal of the handsome and urbane General Cameron, or the suavity of President Meeker's address, decide to have it remain where it is. Besides, when according to N. C. Meeker's idea, we shall have annexed Canada and the British islands, would it not be quite central enough?

In addition to discussing questions in politics, science, philosophy, literature and art, practical questions of home interests, like that of the lottery scheme, were discussed under the auspices of one of the lyceums, instead of as earlier, at the 'Colony meetings.' The Fourth of July, 1872, was celebrated in the Methodist church in a program given there by the Young Peoples' lyceum in the evening.

On this occasion Dr. Hawes, newly arrived, made his *debut* by reading a thrilling poem on some patriotic theme; J. C. Shattuck furnishes the fun for the evening by delivering a regular spread eagle

Fourth of July oration. Then come the toasts, 'Our Country,' responded to by A. J. Wilber, who about two years ago shook the dust of the soil of his native land from his disgusted feet and sought for 'equity' under the banner of Old Mexico. N. C. Meeker spoke on 'Union Colony,' David Boyd, 'Agriculture,' Mrs. Price, sister of J. Max. Clark, 'The Ladies,' J. G. Cooper, 'The Press,' and Rev. G. H. Adams, 'Greeley Lyceums.' This latter gentleman, among other things, said:

"He thought the two lyceums worthy of great praise in having furnished rational entertainment so long and uninterruptedly, and the members should feel highly flattered in having a people so intelligent uniformly fill the house. He would be happy to serve the lyceums in any capacity the members might indicate, for he believed these institutions were doing much good."

For some three or four years the attitude of the preachers was the same as that of Mr. Adams towards the lyceums, and they quite generally took a part in them. But sometimes scientific and philosophic questions were handled in such a way as to trench on the domain of theology, and in a manner that was thought to have a tendency to unsettle faith in the dogmas of orthodoxy. One preacher said in substance that more doubt could be planted in the minds of the hearers by some of these skeptical speakers in five minutes than could be eradicated in an hour by one defending christian evidences; and he counseled his people to keep away. From that time there was a general withdrawal of the religious element, especially from the "Old People's Lyceum," where there was less timidity shown in handling subjects lying on the borderlands of science and religion. Sectarian lines were yearly more scrupulously drawn, and amusements and exercises furnished the members within the denominational limits. Each preacher preferred to keep his flock nibbling within the small enclosure of its own church. But the process of segregation went on in more directions than this. A large number of secret societies gradually begin to crystalize around different centers, and large gatherings of the whole people for common purposes become rarer and rarer. At length we have become like other old communities East, and but little intellectual vigor is any longer displayed, or general fraternal feeling is left remaining. Our Fourth of July celebrations now have taken on the physical type. We have racing, climbing greased poles, catching greased pigs, hook and ladder companies' races, and Firemen's tournaments, instead of the kind we had in 1872 as above narrated. Ah, well, quite other sort of folks can engage in these things, and the Utes could no doubt beat our best and bravest at them. However the Fourth, of the year 1885, was celebrated in the old way, while in this year of grace, 1890, we are to have a Fireman's tournament for which our debt-laden town can afford a donation of $1,000, while it felt too poor to give a cent to the State Normal school.

But upon the decline of the lyceums intellectual vigor did not quite subside. The arena of debate was changed to the local newspapers, especially to *The Tribune*, which was hospitable to the views of thinkers upon opposing sides of nearly all questions. But upon this field of debate the contest has for the most part come to an end, largely no doubt because most of the grave and pressing questions of the former time have been settled and little remains but routine. The liquor question remains the only one of general interest, and from time to time can bring together the masses as in the former days. But whoever should now visit us could write no such accounts of the place as those we have quoted. They would and do speak of our material prosperity, of our beautiful homes, of our large business blocks, of our spacious halls of audience, and if they looked deeper would speak of the solid business basis of our merchants and bankers, and of the reliability of our credit generally. They would see that one-third of the people in town keep a horse and carriage of some kind, and that nearly all the farmers come to town in buggies, and have two-horse carriages, or at least spring wagons in which to bring their families to church Sundays, while for some six years there was scarcely to be seen any other vehicle in or around town save lumber wagons, and the farmer was considered well off who had a saddle to jump into when he had to hurry to town for repairs to the first self-binders that needed so much of that kind of attention. He would see on the surface of society a gay life largely substituted for the serious duties of the earlier years. Glancing at our papers he would see accounts of dancing clubs, card-playing clubs, base ball clubs, foot-racing clubs, gun clubs, hook and ladder companies, fire companies, all run by the "boys," who for a number of years have run the politics of the place, all political aspirants deeming it prudent to cater to these "young bloods." He would also find a large transient class hanging around, who play an important part in determining questions in which they have but the slightest passing interest. If he were inside of the ring he would learn that there is a large fund collected principally from the candidates, for the purpose of corrupting the vote of the county and manipulated for this purpose by a most dexterous politician who holds the destiny of his party in his breeches pocket. He would find that in the dirty scramble for place only the most brazen office-seeker had the slightest chance of getting a hand at the game, and that every aspirant is at length sucked into this vile maelstrom. The canvass is no more conducted by an open discussion of men and issues, but managed by paid "button-holers," who backbite the opposing candidates, and misrepresent their views.

We now turn to the last institution which helped to contrast the Greeley of the first few years from the Greeley of the present. This was the Farmers' Club.

When Mr. Greeley was here in the autumn of 1870 he advised us to start one as soon as possible. This of course had been our intention. Mr. Meeker had won great repute among the agricultural classes on account of his animated reports of the New York Farmers' Club, and we were to have here one as near like it as possible as soon as a suitable place was built in which to hold meetings. The following is the account of its organization given in *The Greeley Tribune* December 28, 1870:

"Last Friday evening about fifty members met in the colony hall, and organized a Farmers' Club. The discussion on the occasion developed a condition of things worthy of special note. Three propositions were presented. First to unite with the lyceum to form a general scientific body under a charter; second to organize as an agricultural society for Northern Colorado, with the Farmers' Club as a branch; and third to organize simply as a Farmers' Club. * * As to uniting with the lyceum it was vigorously opposed for the reason that men simply gifted as speakers, and with literary qualifications, but who had never raised a bushel of potatoes, and who had no real living interest in agricultural pursuits, would do discredit to a Farmers' Club, inasmuch as they would be forever talking about matters they do not understand.

"After a full hearing from many speakers it was voted unanimously that a Farmers' Club be organized independent of all other bodies. The terms of membership were fixed at one dollar and Captain David Boyd was elected president, J. Max. Clark, secretary, and N. C. Meeker, treasurer. The first regular meeting is to be held Friday, December 30, and the subject for discussion is 'Tree Planting.' Thirty-five joined the club."

It might as well here be said that Mr. Meeker especially opposed the club's being a part of the lyceum because he did not want General Cameron to have anything to do with it since he was a more fluent speaker than himself, and was apt to monopolize more than his share of the time which was usually extended to him by the courtesy of the audience when the limit fixed by the rules was reached. Although the General could not be called a practical farmer, and had not the remotest idea of engaging in that pursuit here, still he was a man of general ideas and his presence in the club would have been useful and would have given animation to the proceedings. But he did not attempt to join it as a separate body since from the discussion it was made pretty clear that the general sentiment was against any but those intending to engage in agriculture joining.

The following notice published in *The Denver News*, soon after its organization, will explain in part the way the club went to work :

"A Farmers' Club has been organized in this town. We have only been in running order a few weeks, yet we have sixty members. We solicit letters, detailing experiences, from old settlers. Especially do we desire information as to what varieties of fruit trees and plants have proved hardy, also as to any that have proved too tender for this climate. We rely much on the old settlers in these matters. All letters received will be read before the club at its weekly meetings. At present the meetings are held in the public hall Wednesday evenings, when we would be pleased to receive and hear from any persons who may visit us and who are instructed in the cultivation of the soil or stock-growing."

There was quite a generous response to the above, and much information was received, though on the whole of a conflicting nature. In addition to communications about the special matters named much was furnished upon the subject of irrigation relating to the quantity of water needed to irrigate certain areas, and how best to apply it. From the farmers themselves we learned that much more water was needed than the theorists writing for newspapers had been endeavoring to make us believe. An inch of continual flow through the season of irrigation was the usual quantity supposed to be required, but it was soon made evident to us that this inch was a very variable quantity. The discussions on these communications led us to investigate the whole subject in concert, and to work together for the attainment of certain ends, and also cultivated the ability to handle such subjects either in oral debate or through the press.

When in town Mr. Meeker was always present, and reported the proceedings quite at length for his paper, and this part of it for a time was one of its most interesting features.

Experiments were planned to be carried out by particular farmers, and reported to the club. The meetings were held regularly only during the winter season, the members being all too busy to give the time while crops were being made and gathered. However, when we were visited by any distinguished agriculturists, meetings were called, and there was a general turnout to hear and give information. In this way we received an excursion party of agricultural editors, who visited us during the autumn of 1871, and who spread far and wide the fame of our young community and its *learned* Farmers' Club.

Some time after this we were visited by another agricultural sage of the *New York Tribune*, Solon Robinson, who had preceded N. C. Meeker as editor in the same department. As we all had been readers of that journal, we were much interested in seeing and hearing the man, but were a good deal disappointed. His address lasted some two hours, and was made up of buncombe, spread eagle platitudes about the climate, scenery and the immense capabilities of the soil. We had been making some experiments in this line ourselves, which had been detrimental to much of this kind of conceit. In fact, we set down the man who, unseen and unheard, had been considered as a prodigy of agricultural wisdom, as a good deal of a humbug. But he was listened to respectfully and gave us several puffs through the journals to which he contributed.

But as the years passed, interest in the proceedings of the club began to fall off. Many of the experiments undertaken were rendered abortive by grasshoppers and insufficiency of water. All our attempts at tree culture had been pretty much failures, except with the despised cottonwood. Many bright hopes of the early days in reference to being able to control the circumstances unfavorable to agriculture had been blasted. We had to maintain a stern hand-to-hand conflict with a hostile environment, and naturally speculation and aspiration had their wings clipped close. The fine, keen edge of the early interest had been dulled in a routine of more or less baffled efforts.

So it happened that the club easily gave way to the grange when it was oganized early in 1874. Many believed that there was need of a more powerful and secret organization of the agricultural class to manage the markets and do away with middlemen, who appeared to some to be reaping all the profits. It appeared to most that it was more important to have good prices for products than it was to stimulate more production. The writer did not share in the great expectations of the Grangers, and gave them a wide berth. He was always cosmopolitan in his views, and believed that farmers as a class would fail in undertaking large business enterprises in connection with their own pursuit. He never has been in harmony with the clannish class spirit, and has a sort of inbred dislike to secret organizations. As a matter of fact, aside from all prejudiced views of the author, the grange never flourished here, and never accomplished anything which it undertook. It has been revived again, and we understand it has been able to give several farmers' dances.

Soon after our club started, several others were formed in different localities in imitation, as at Denver, Clear Creek, Longmont, and were in correspondence with us. These also died out upon the advent of the grange. Men who have views on these subjects, and ability to write upon them, henceforth avail themselves of the press of the state as a vehicle of their opinions, and thus exercise a wider influence. In this connection it might be said that the state organ of the grange was published during the greater part of its life in Greeley, and edited by A. J. Wilber, and that for this writer it was about the leanest, least nutritious, intellectual *pabulum* he ever undertook to assimilate. He took it and whiles glanced over it through friendship for its editor, and also so as not to keep too far removed from those engaged in the same pursuits. It is highly probable that he was looking at it from the wrong point of view, and that the members of the order found in it the sustenance their appetites craved. On the other hand, we saw our friend of the former days becoming dwarfed and dwindling in intellectual stature as he became the mouthpiece of one hobby after another. Mr. Wilber took quite a conspicuous part in the Lyceum and Farmers' Club, and still more in educational affairs, and gave promise of still better performance during our first years. However, he was much more effective as a speaker than as a writer. In oratory he had taken Wendell Phillips as his model, endeavoring to say the most biting, cutting things in the coolest manner possible. In writing, his theory of conciseness resulted in baldness, and it would have pleased him if he could have communicated his written thought in the symbols of an algebraic formula. Some writers as Tacitus and Emerson have attained great effectiveness through the instrumentality of a terse, compact style, but it is the result of great art acquired by close study. If the unadorned or unstrengthened substantive is to be depended upon almost wholly for effect, there is need of the choicest selection of the most apposite and striking words. Such style, while appearing unadorned, is adorned the most. In a language like the Italian, in which the substantive assumes so many forms to indicate so many different delicate shades of meaning, there is less need of the adjective to bring out complete expression; hence the effectiveness of this part of speech in the hands of such a master as Dante. Our language is said to surpass all others for the purposes of brevity in telegraphy, but an expert in writing out telegrams of the fewest letters is not likely to be the master of an effective style, and Mr. Wilber's conciseness was of the telegraph dispatch order.

Here what is deemed suitable to be said about the other secret organizations may fitly have its place. Of the general meliorating tendencies of all these organizations there can be no doubt. The objects of all are social, ethical and fraternal. Perhaps no other set of agencies have done so much to break down sectarian bigotry in religion. Hence, sects that fear defection from their ranks, or who have narrow views about the beliefs that are necessary to salvation, endeavor to keep their adherents out of these organizations. The opposition of the Church of Rome is well known, and Protestant sects that are the farthest removed from Romish doctrine and ritual conduct themselves in the same way in regard to secret societies. Sects who believe that there are but a few that can be saved under the most favorable conditions, and that their own method of presentation offers at least the best chances, necessarily endeavor to keep the denominational enclosures in more thorough repair than others who believe that not only in the "Father's house are many mansions," but that there are ways to it from many widely scattered folds. Leckey says that Catholics used to try to gain converts by this kind of an argument: "Protestants believe that Catholics may be saved, Catholics believe that Protestants cannot be saved, therefore your chances of salvation are better in the Catholic church than in a Protestant one," thus making the bigotry and narrowness of their views a reason why they would find acceptance in the sight of God. Blaise Pascal gave this absurd theory a wider application, and Protestants have taken it up in reasoning with those of skeptical tendencies. It runs thus: "If Christian belief is true, then the believer is saved and the skeptic is lost; if the skeptic is right, then the Christian is as well off as he, therefore you had better become a Christian, even if there is not a chance in a thousand that his views are true." All of which is rendered absurd, since the Christians all agree that only *sincerity* of *conviction* is acceptable to God, and that the *will cannot constrain* the *reason* to *accept* as *true* what the *evidence makes* appear to it *false* or *doubtful*.

When, however, men enter into so close fraternal relations as those which bind together Free Masons, Odd Fellows, or Knights of Pythias, it is easy to be seen even by one who has never belonged to either order that the sectarian lines which divide those within the brotherhood must more and more vanish. The love, charity, brotherly kindness, disposition to help, to lend a hand, to comfort and console the suffering or the bereaved, will soon be felt to be beautiful human traits, forming ties stronger than death, and dependent upon no dogmatic theological opinions. It will soon become impossible to believe that the brother who has watched with you in the hours of sickness, and smoothed for you the thorny pillow of disease, will, as the reward of a just judge, have his own head through all eternity tossed on the crest of a wave of fire and brimstone, according to Dante or John Bunyan, because he did not and could not see things above reason as you saw them or perhaps only imagined you saw them.

Still, secret societies of nearly all shades or names exist only for men, if they are sincere, who hover in the middle regions of belief as regards supernatural or transcendental matters. While most that is obligatory or of direct statement is ethical and can be accepted by one wholly skeptical about supernaturalism, yet in the ritual and obligations there are very obvious implications demanding assent to the recognition of a Supernatural Being and many other Christian doctrines, such as the resurrection of the body, all of which can only be dishonestly acquiesced in by him who thoroughly disbelieves such opinions. Ethics and beliefs about the supernatural have been so closely blended in the past that the ghosts of the old superstitions still hover around all mystically fraternal human relations, and it is only in the open light of day, under the clear, blue sky of science, that these shadows can die into nothingness.

Both the Free Masons and Odd Fellows organized early here, perhaps before the end of the first year. Each of these fraternities have all the three grades of association peculiar to each. All the fraternities meet alternately in the Masonic hall, which is in the Park Place block, but only rented by that society for five years, the Masons subrenting to the other societies. The Odd Fellows are, however, at this writing, engaged in building a block, which is contracted for for about $13,000, besides the cost of the two lots upon which it is built, which was $2,000.

The strength of the Odd Fellows and Masons is about the same, being about 150. The Knights of Pythias and the Ancient Order of United Workmen, though much later of coming into the field, number nearly or quite as many. Thus it would appear that there are 600 men in these four orders. This is not, however, the case, as perhaps most are in two of these societies and many in three. Although none of these societies have directly for their object the political advancement of their members, yet it is to be observed that men who have political aspirations usually belong to a number of them, and other things being equal, there is no doubt that indirectly a large connection of this kind is a great advantage, next to being on good terms with and generous to the "boys."

The Order of Modern Woodmen of America have also lately started a camp here, but it is to be hoped that they will find more employment in planting than in clearing forests in this vicinity.

We have left the U. S. Grant Post No. 13, G. A. R., last of the male organizations to be mentioned. It is presumable that it stands in closer relations to the people at large than any of the others. Its members have done something for their country besides parade and make patriotic speeches. Twenty-five years have passed since the surrender of Lee at Appomattox. So nearly all are turned of fifty. To few, indeed, remain the light, elastic step of the early sixties, but to "Rally 'Round the Flag, Boys," their hearts respond with the old, quick beat. Although the writer has only contempt for a ritual which embodies in it the traditions and superstitions of an ignorant past, borrowed from an older secret organization, at the time of whose origin these things had a terrible significance, yet for the most of the objects for which the Grand Army exists he has the profoundest regard.

Captain M. V. B. Gifford organized the first post here, and was the first post commander. Of this organization there is now no record. Mr. Gifford returned to his native place, which was Erie, Pa., about 1880.

The present post was organized in 1882, and was designated Poudre Valley Post No. 22 of the Department of the Mountains. It had fourteen charter members. The number was soon changed from 22 to 13.

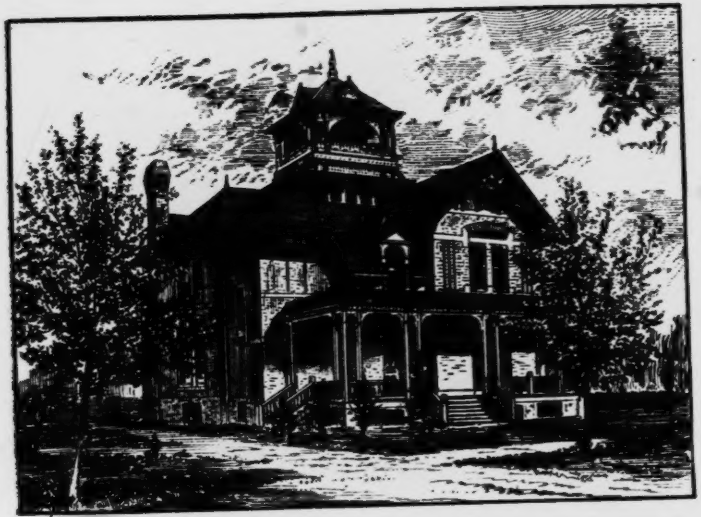
In 1885 the charter and name were changed to U. S. Grant Post No. 13. The name of the department was changed from that of the Mountains to that of Colorado, and from that to Colorado and Wyoming, the last change being authorized at the last National Encampment, 1889.

The number of members in good standing is eighty-two. There are some fifty old soldiers in Greeley and vicinity who have not yet seen fit to join the post.

The present commander is I. H. Paine. The past commanders in the order in which they served since the organization in 1882 are L. B. Willard, W. M. Boomer, Thomas Stimson, H. C. Watson, M. J. Hogarty and B. D. Harper.

The Woman's Relief Corps at Greeley has a membership of about 80, and is one of the best managed in the state. The present president is Mrs. B. D. Harper, the secretary, Mrs. N. F. Cheeseman, and the post presidents are Mrs. A. W. Jones, Mrs. M. J. Hogarty and Mrs. O. Howard.

There is still another secret order in Greeley for the women—that of the Eastern Star—an adjunct of Free Masonry. The one connected with the Odd Fellows, namely the "Daughters of Rebecca," has not been organized here. There appears to be no reason why these insti-



RESIDENCE OF EX-GOVERNOR EATON.

tutions are not as good for women as for men. Both squander away a great deal of time that wise men and women should use for higher and better purposes. As to the benefit to be derived from these societies in the way of breaking down religious bigotry, they are destined to have as salutary an effect upon women as upon men, the former of whom are even narrower in the way of tolerance no doubt, because their relations bring them less widely in contact with those of varying creeds. Bigotry and recluseness are reciprocally cause and effect of each other.

# CHAPTER XXI.

THE CHURCHES OF GREELEY—MR. MEEKER'S IDEA OF ONE COLONY CHURCH—ENDEAVOR TO HAVE A UNION EVANGELICAL CHURCH—EARLY SEPARATION AND ORGANIZATION OF DIFFERENT DENOMINATIONS—THE FREE CHURCH—THE ECLECTIC SOCIETY—THE UNITARIAN SOCIETY OF GREELEY, A SUCCESSOR TO THE LAST TWO—THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, ITS EFFORTS TO FORM A UNION WITH THE PRESBYTERIAN—A WOMAN'S CHURCH AT THE START—THE ZEAL, ENERGY AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF THESE FEW WOMEN—THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF GREELEY—THE BAPTIST CHURCH HAS FIRST BUILDING DEDICATED—THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH—THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH—THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH—THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN GREELEY—SCARCITY OF CATHOLIC-IRISH AND NEGROES IN GREELEY—GERMANS IN GREELEY.

MR. Meeker's idea at the time he made his first proposal for a colony was to have one church edifice. However, there was no religious test demanded as a condition for membership. As a consequence all the leading Protestant denominations were represented. If there were any Catholics here during the first year the writer is not aware of the fact. There were a number of Irish nationality who had been born and bred in that communion, but had become skeptical or liberal in their religious opinions. There is but little doubt that four-fifths of the original members of Union Colony belonged to the classes just named. From the reports furnished the writer by the different churches in this place it appears that those organized during the first two years had an aggregate membership of about 100. We have seen that there were some six hundred or over heads of families here during the first year. This was to be expected as Horace Greeley was liberal in his religious views, and one who had been reading N. C. Meeker's letters before his call for a colony could easily have seen that he was also. It turned out that his assistants, R. A. Cameron and H. T. West, were, if not liberals, hardly to be called orthodox. Mr. Cameron stood on the Henry Ward Beecher platform, and Mr. West, if he had any definite views on the subject, may be classed with those of Second Adventists who believe in the destruction of the wicked and not in their everlasting punishment. This absence of orthodoxy was characteristic of nearly every one of the men who took a prominent part in shaping the destiny of the colony during its formative period. Here belong A. J. Wilber, J. Max. Clark, Solon and Henry Martin, B. S. LaGrange, Samuel Blodgett, Oliver Howard and Rev. E. Hollister. The latter preached frequently during the first year and may be classed as a disciple of Carlyle, but in theology very nearly a Channing Unitarian. But the Rev. Alfred Baxter, who was a Presbyterian, preached the first colony sermon to an audience in the open air. There was always some one preached every Sunday and the skeptics generally attended as well as the believers. There was an effort made to have a Union church, but a lot for each denomination was donated by the colony, and as a matter of fact all the orthodox denominations, save the United Presbyterian, had effected organizations within eight months of the settlement of the colony.

Perhaps General Cameron made the most strenuous effort towards bringing about a union organization of all the churches. With him the differences that separated evangelical denominations were trivial. According to the opinion of all these denominations, as evidenced by the very organization of an evangelical alliance, eternal salvation could be secured by the believer within the fold of any one of the denominations, and hence the distinctions must be unessential. But he who reasons in this way overlooks the powerful influence of custom and habit. Men and women, especially the latter, feel more at home where they find the forms to which they have been used since childhood; they mostly also like only to hear those peculiar views of religion preached which agree with their own. Hence J. C. Shattuck replied to General Cameron's proposition for a Union church, that if he were going to have to put his hand in his pocket and pay for a preacher he must be one who preached exactly what he believed.

It was unfortunate for the success of the General's proposition that he named Thomas K. Beecher as the person whom he would like to see hired to fill the Union pulpit. Unfortunate, because he was a Congregationalist to which denomination he belonged, and in fact before coming here had been a member of his church at Elmira. Indeed it was in general found that any one would be in favor of a Union church provided the preacher was to be of his own denomination. However, there would have been trouble about adopting a common creed satisfactory to all, and without a creed no orthodox assembly could be imagined to get along.

But here to the point are some remarks of Horace Greeley in a letter to N. C. Meeker concerning Thomas K. Beecher, about whom the latter had evidently made inquiry of the former; they are as follows:

"Now as to Tom Beecher. He is the dearest, sweetest soul on earth, but utterly lacking in stability of performance. At Elmira he is a pretty good co-operationist; with you he would be just the other way. He revels in paradoxes, and is the captive of every passing sophistry. I wish you had him as a wheel-wright or engine builder, for he has a mechanical genius, but as a preacher he is likely to do more harm than good. Get him and see."

So far as the writer remembers there was unanimity among the non-church members about the desirability of having a Union church with some able, well-paid preacher, who, of course, was expected to be of some one of the Evangelical denominations. They expressed both willingness to help to support and to go to hear such a preacher. Whether, however, they would have continued long of this mind is quite another question, and the writer has no belief that they would. It is a source of sore irritation to sit and listen to opinions which one believes to be contrary to reason and common sense, and no good can come of it. If the exercises of religion cannot bring to the soul a holy, restful calm, a spirit of tender brotherly loving-kindness, they are of no manner of use. The skeptic—and by that word I mean the man who asks a sufficient reason for opinions however hoary they may be with age—can only suffer mental irritation in listening to opinions advanced from a desk which is sacred against direct attack. If he retorts he is a source of irritation to the believer; if he quietly "digest the venom of his spleen" it is not a healthy condiment, and he compromises his principles. Only place-seekers and time-servers subject themselves to ordeals of this kind.

So it happened that when each denomination withdrew from the Union church the liberal religionists and free-thinkers formed themselves into a society called the "Free Church." This was a compromise name. The Unitarians and Universalists wanted the name *church*, and the rationalists condoned the inappropriate name in condescension to their weaker brethren. But as conducted, it was in no sense a church. No preacher was ever engaged. There were essays, addresses and readings by the lay members, and they usually met at one another's houses. It so happened that nearly all the talent in this line belonged to the most skeptical element. Unitarians and Universalists stand upon equivocal ground and in the experience of the writer the lay members hardly know what they believe, and hence have no position to defend. But they had certain vague religious sentiments which were distressed at out and out free inquiry. Hence they soon withdrew and the Free church lived on awhile as a rationalistic club. Mr. Meeker belonged to the Free church awhile, but withdrew because of its hostile attitude to the dogmas of the churches. He thought that these ought to be let alone, and this society should find its work in doing some good in the world and in bringing "relief to man's estate." The churches were doing that in their own way, and the skeptics could only lay claim to attention by doing the same thing in at least as efficacious a way.

The society gradually declined both in numbers and in interest. Those who undertook to conduct the exercises were usually busy men, overworked at hard labor, harassed by the difficulties which have before been recorded, and therefore much that was offered was crude and illy digested.

The next free religious movement that was set on foot in Greeley was inaugurated by the Spiritualists, but culminated in the fusion of all the liberal elements under the name of "Eclectic Society." The title shows the heterogeneity that was acknowledged by those who organized it. This had a history wholly similar to that of the Free Church, the more skeptical, audacious, and, in the opinion of the writer, the better logically equipped, driving Spiritualists and the liberal Christians from the field as before. It cannot be said that either of these societies did any particular good any further than cultivating the spirit of free inquiry among the members. There never was any intention of making proselytes. The members did their duties as citizens and neighbors on considerations purely human and rational, and the record of their activities may challenge a comparison with that of any equal number within the church. To a man, they were not only staunch temperance men, but strictly total abstainers. They eschewed gambling, and all frivolous pursuits and follies. In fact, so far as morals and manners were concerned, they were more Puritanical than those professing to believe the dogmas of the Plymouth Rock Pilgrims. These men had not left the church or refused to join it on account of its *moral restraints* a charge which may be rightly brought against perhaps nine-tenths of the unchurched in Christian lands. They stood much farther away both in practice and in sympathies from this thoughtless, frivolous rabble, than they did from earnest, conscientious Christians, with whom they often worked in harmony for moral ends. To reach this lower stratum of society and ameliorate it, however, rationalism is much more powerless than evangelical Christianity. It can offer no reward for well-doing or well-being save the inward consciousness that in doing right one has acted the part that becomes a man, has sustained the grand dignity of a noble manhood. There are many incapable of understanding the meaning of this, who may be acted upon by considerations of rewards and punisnments in the hereafter, but many less in our day and nation than formerly and elsewhere. Scoffers are abundant, skeptics few. Faith in the dogmas of religion has suffered shipwreck for many, and with it has gone not only respect for things divine, but for the higher and nobler humanities.

Some time during 1880 the old elements again united, and a new society was formed, this time under the Unitarian name. Its heterogeneity is quite as marked as either of the other two which preceded it, but it has lived now some ten years, and yet the different elements cohere as well as they did at the start. The reason, it appears to the writer, is that the new society employs a preacher. In the other organizations the differences of views were brought together face to face as the individual members took parts in leading the meetings. Weak men or weak positions soon exposed themselves and withdrew, and as a matter of fact only the skeptics and agnostics remained masters of the field. But when the opinions are handled by one man, and in connection with forms of worship, and under the sanctities that still linger around even a Unitarian pulpit, all this is changed. For those who still fondly cling to the mysterious symbols of the old faith even after the substance of it has ceased to command their intellectual assent, there remains the old sacred tunes sung to new words, and the recognition in even the agnostic prayer of a mysterious something not themselves, influencing their lives and fashioning their destiny. Such meetings bring a calm in harmony with the day of rest that has descended to us with a benediction, however unscientific its origin, while the meetings of the Free Church and Eclectic Society only increased the tempest raging in the soul.

It may be said that the Unitarian Society here has never formally connected itself with either of the two now contending factions of that body—the American Unitarian Association of the East or the Unitarian Conference of the West—but the greater portion of the members sympathize with the views and attitude of the latter, but contributions are sent to aid in the benevolent and humanitarian work of both.

There is no creed, but a basis of fellowship. At the organization, in July, 1880, it was thus stated:

"Wishing to secure the greatest freedom in our search after truth, desirous of receiving the best aid, the best thought this or any age can afford; so that to us, to our children and to others the highest and truest life may be possible, we form ourselves into an association which shall be called "The Unitarian Church of Greeley." The objects to be secured by this society are: Worship for those desirous of worship; charity and hospitality for those who need either, and religious and social culture for all."

Under Mr. Hogeland the following basis of fellowship was adopted:

"Religious worship, and the furtherance of virtue, intelligence, sociability and righteousness among its members and in the community.

"No assent shall be required for membership, nor other condition imposed by this society, except subscribing to these by-laws."

"These by-laws" simply relate to the routine of the business. All seats are free, the expenses being met by voluntary subscription.

The number who have subscribed to the above simple statement, is small—only thirty-five—but those who attend the meetings and support it by their contributions are much more numerous. Many refused to subscribe to the first platform because the organization was called a church, which for them was a compromising name. The society, about the time the building of a house was undertaken, was incorporated as "The First Unitarian Society of Greeley." This *name* suited the free-thinkers better, but its leading object was said to be *worship*, and the agnostic element is at a loss to find a suitable form of ceremony in which to reverence its unknowable something behind the knowable phenomena of the universe. The motto of the organ of the Western Unitarian Conference is "Freedom, fellowship and character in religion." Agnostics probably accept this heartily by substituting the word *life* for *religion*. They could also cordially subscribe to a platform stating the object of the association to be the "Promotion of love, truth and righteousness in the world." Frederick Harrison has aptly symbolized the God of the agnostics as $X^n$ which is the unknowable all-being of unknowable character and attributes; and how to influence such a being as to make ourselves his or its favorites must of necessity be an unknowable process.

The first preacher engaged by the society was Joseph E. Gibbs. He had been educated for the Congregational pulpit, and had occupied one for a time, but his studies in historical criticism changed his views in regard to the Christian evidences, and he left the denomination and had preached before coming here to an independent religious society at Syracuse, in the State of New York. He occupied the desk here for some five years. Being a trained theologian, much of his discourse had a bearing upon the disputes relating to the debatable territory bordering the domains of orthodoxy and heterodoxy.

He was followed by N. S. Hogeland, a graduate of Meadville Unitarian Theological School. He remained some two years and a half, and devoted himself largely to promoting the well-being and well-doing of his people.

While he was in charge, a sort of spontaneous movement among the members developed itself in the direction of building a church edifice. Before this the society had rented halls. In the first two years P. T. Barnum had allowed the society the use of his hall free, except running expenses. Then S. H. Southard had rented it his hall at a merely nominal figure. But these places did not seem home-like enough, especially to the ladies, who in this, as in all religious bodies of the day, are the most numerous and deeply interested. Two lots were purchased cornering on the Court House Square at a cost of $1,500, and a building erected on it at a cost, including seating and fixtures, of $5,200. The Unitarian Building and Loan Association loaned the society $2,400 without interest, to be paid in eight equal annual installments, and $1,500 remain yet unpaid; otherwise the society is out of debt.

The new building was ready for occupation July, 1887. Mr. Hogeland resigned about the end of that year and was followed by R. W. Savage, also a graduate of the Meadville Theological School. Mr. Savage occupied himself outside of his work in the pulpit chiefly in promoting the intellectual activities of his people. A scientific society was organized and devoted its time to a study of the doctrine of evolution, taking as a guide the program of the "Brooklyn Ethical Association." During the winter of 1888 and 1889 he organized a course of some twelve lectures, delivered by as many laymen of the society, Sunday evenings. These lectures called out full houses, and are a proof of the literary and scientific ability of the men who adhere to this organization. The writer believes it the most unique organization in Greeley, and in it is retained more of the characteristics of the Greeley of the first years than elsewhere. It may be claimed that there is in it more literary and scientific ability and scholarly attainment than there is in the total lay membership of all the six orthodox churches with a membership of some eight hundred. The above course of lectures was given, with the exception of three, by non-professional men, one of them by a clergyman of an orthodox church. The subjects had the widest range and represented all shades of heterodox opinion, save the one mentioned. Yet they were all received not only in a tolerant spirit but with a just appreciation of the point of view of the speaker, and were a means of greater cordiality not only among those participating in them, but among the representatives of the different shades of opinion so widely divergent in this heterogeneous society. It is especially worthy of remark that the discourse of the Rev. A. K. Packard, on "A view of Salvation by Faith," was received in the same tolerant and cordial spirit.

Mr. Savage resigned in the autumn of 1889. Since then there has been no regular engagement of a pastor, but the desk is ably filled every other Sunday by Dr. Henry Wilson, of Denver.

But whether there is preaching or not a Sunday school is steadily maintained. This owes its origin and continued existence largely to Oliver Howard, who may be called the most pronounced Unitarian among the male lay members. The Sunday school has an enrollment of about one hundred, and has a library of 250 volumes.

The ladies of the society deserve especial mention. Aside from the part they take in the intellectual movements of the association, to them belongs the credit of its bright, social gatherings. They have an auxiliary organization named "Unity Circle." It is constantly engaged in helpful, beneficent work, which aids many a worn and weary sister. Its efforts were largely directed and stimulated by the exertions of Mrs. J. J. Stevens before her lamented death, and are now quickened and ennobled by her saintly, benignant memory.

These ladies, in addition to their devotion to good works, are mostly engaged in courses of study to widen their field of knowledge and broaden for them the intellectual horizon. Their field of inquiry embraces politics, social science, biology, psychology, history and general literature. Of course they are all in favor of impartial suffrage and a fair field for their sex in the industrial world, and the other sex of this society are nearly to a man in harmony with them on these points.

It is worthy of record here that upon the vote for impartial suffrage to be embraced in the state constitution there were 279 votes for, and only 117 against this provision. The writer is of opinion that no such favorable vote could be taken on this question to-day, owing to the much larger preponderance of orthodoxy which is, if consistent, fettered by the reiterated opinions of Paul asserting the subordination of woman. There is also a large increase of the sporting, frivolous element which is also opposed to enfranchisement.

We will next speak of the Congregational church here which lies somewhat closely near to the Unitarian. In fact many conservative Unitarian women of this place prefer its services to that of the more radical society. It owes its growth and prosperity almost wholly to the capable, bright women who for a time formed almost the total membership. Rev. A. K. Packard writes me that when he took charge July, 1874, "There was not a man to come to the mid-week religious service. I sent a serious and truthful account of the condition to the secretaries of the Home Missionary society which they affected to regard as humorous. Judge Haynes remarked to me that the church seemed to him more like a club than a church, as churches were usually conducted. Perhaps you remember that Mrs. General Cameron and her sisters, Mrs. Ingalsbe, Mrs. McClellan, Mrs. J. H. Johnson, Mrs. Plumb, with the help of younger ladies, made a great success of sociables, oyster suppers and literary and musical entertainments I often noticed that on the Sunday following one of these efforts of the ladies the congregation would be unusually large."

The writer remembers that among other devices for getting money the ladies made arrangements for a course of lectures, and that such was their freedom from theological bias that he was invited and gave two of the course. The able but eccentric Miss S. E. Eddy was for a long time their leader, although if she really belonged to any orthodox body it was the Episcopalian.

There were several efforts extending down as late as September, 1875, during the pastorate of Rev. A. K. Packard to unite in forming one society with the Presbyterians, and a full account of these various attempts will be found in a historical review of this church written by that gentleman published in *The Greeley Tribune*, October 23, 1878, and from it we quote the following:

"At a meeting of worshippers one Sunday afternoon, in Colony Hall, when this proposition was under consideration, Rev. Sheldon Jackson, Presbyterian superintendent of Missions for the northwest, was present, and argued earnestly against the union project, and in favor of denominational churches, and of securing Eastern help to build churches and pay salaries, and said he could secure that fall $5,000 to build a Presbyterian church in Greeley. A vote being taken only two in the congregation favored his plan, as opposed to the union project; but that evening he organized a Presbyterian church of ten members. This was August 21. Dr. Jackson has been much complimented in his own denomination for his vigilance, activity and persistence in starting Presbyterian churches in Colorado. Congregationalists have sometimes complained that he has been more zealous in this direction than christian comity would approve. It has been said, "Dr. Jackson is in no way responsible for the division of Presbyterians and Congregationalists in Greeley." But that he took the part I have attributed to him in the meeting referred to I have the amplest testimony of witnesses, given independently with various details. I have inquired carefully as to this part of our history, and am confident that but for him there would have been no Presbyterian church formed at that time or near that time, and that the Congregational church would have included the members that were organized in the two.

"It has been represented that the Presbyterian church here was formed, and, oftener, that individuals intending to join the Congregational church went into the Presbyterian, because the Congregationalists planned and finally adopted an unsound creed. There is not a Presbyterian body in America or Great Britain that would deny the orthodoxy or the fulness of our creed, which has never been modified since its adoption. It is probably true—and this, so far as I can learn, is the only basis of the representation referred to—that one or two working towards the organization of the Congregational church desired and advocated a more "liberal" creed than was adopted, and that one or two or three may have gone to the Presbyterian church from fear of their influence or want of complacence in them.

"The history thus far given shows that the Congregationalists were at last under the necessity to become Baptists, Methodists or Presbyterians, remain out of church relations here, or organize themselves. It is admitted that they were decidedly superior in numbers at the time the churches were organized. That they were the last of the four to move separately was because they did not plan to be by themselves, but hoped and expected to unite in a church congregational in government, Catholic in creed, generous in spirit of fellowship, but not subject to any other ecclesiastical body or distinctively associated with any denomination, or because, as was probably true of most, they expected to secure to a Congregational church elements that were organized otherwise."

When the Rev. A. K. Packard arrived here, October 1, 1874, he found a letter awaiting him from the Secretaries of the Home Missionary Society asking him to ascertain if it were possible to unite the Congregational and Presbyterian churches in Greeley and in Longmont—"the Congregationalists holding Greeley and the Presbyterians Longmont,"—and if not possible, to report why not. The plan was acceptable to the Congregationalists of Greeley, and to the Presbyterians of Longmont, but not otherwise. The surrender plan of union is not always Christian and is rarely happy. When the whale swallows Jonah, it may be satisfactory to the whale, but seldom to Jonah.

"A year from that time the church, desirous, as it ever had been, to avoid the waste by two organizations where one would be sufficient, and believing that, with a charitable and self-denying spirit in both churches, a union might be effected without the sacrifice of principle, and without dishonor to either party, and with gain to the cause of Christ, invited the Presbyterian church to a friendly Christian conference as to the possibility and expediency of union, either by organization—for instance, into an independent, undenominational church—or for worship and work, each church still retaining its organization. When, after considerable delay, the letter containing this proposition was, by consent, printed in *The Tribune*, September 29, 1875, a reply was addressed to us through the same paper, October 6th, admitting the advantages of the union we had urged, if the union could be effected on a Scriptural basis, etc., but suggesting caution and delay, and assuring us that our proposition had been under prayerful consideration and should continue to be till some definite conclusion could be reached. None has yet been announced. Still, neighboring and nearly allied churches perhaps seldom have more fraternal relations than these. There are serious difficulties in the way of uniting churches. Union of Christians into one body, before separate organizations, is easier than afterward."

It has always appeared to the writer that if the people of the two societies had been allowed to manage their own affairs without the interference of a denominational zealot, they would have formed a single strong society. In Fort Collins this has been done. One organization there embraces the three Calvinistic phases of organization which here has for each a separate church.

The following additional facts in relation to the Congregational church are given from a report made to the writer by Rev. A. K. Packard:

"The church was organized September 15, 1870, with twenty-six members. One hundred and ninety-two have since been added, and one hundred and forty-one names are on the roll of membership now.

"Work on the present house was begun in 1880. Services were begun in it June 3, 1881, before the house was completed. It was not finished, paid for and dedicated until September 17, 1885. It cost about $9,000.

"The first stated supply of the pulpit was Mr. Cooper who preached from February 10, 1872, to August 4, 1872. Rev. L. Wheaton Allen preached for the church from October 13, 1872, to September 23, 1873. Mr. Q. L. Dowd, a theological student from New Haven, supplied the pulpit from January 1, 1874, to some time in July. Rev. A. K. Packard from August 25, 1874, to August 27, 1882. Rev. Daniel Staver, who had been for about five years a missionary in Turkey, and returning on account of his wife's health, and had been a pastor two years in Minnesota, preached here from August 1, 1882, to October 1, 1885. Rev. George Michael, who came from a pastorate in Maine, preached from October 16, 1885, to October 30, 1887. Edward S. Parsons, a graduate of Amherst College and New Haven Seminary, began work for the church July 8, 1888, was ordained August 29, same year, and installed October 9, 1889.

The church has been self-sustaining since 1885, and now pays its pastor a salary of $1,500.

March 26, 1884, the church adopted the following as an article in its constitution, to take the place of one previously existing with relation to the same matter: "If any member of the church becomes convinced that he is not a Christian, or for any reason finds himself so out of sympathy with the church in its doctrine, worship, works or aims, as to feel that he cannot honorably maintain his membership, and asks to be released from it, the church may yield to such request after due endeavor to restore the member, provided the case be of such a character that, in the judgment of a majority of those voting when the action is taken, the general good will not be promoted by a public trial."

At the beginning of last year the church adopted a form of baptism and of reception of members to the church. In doing this, it adopted a new form of creed and covenant—this not because any dissatisfaction had been expressed with the old one. The church had before no written baptismal service, and no written form of reception of members. The committee in preparing these, prepared also a new form of creed and covenant, which proved acceptable to the church in place of the old one.

### CREED OF THE FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH OF GREELEY, COLO.

We believe in one God, Jehovah, made known to man as the Infinite Father of all created being, as the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, who lived upon earth for our redemption, and as the Holy Spirit, who fulfills the promise of the Son to abide with us and in us forever, our sanctifier, our strength and our guide.

We believe in redemption from sin and the power of hell by our Lord Jesus Christ, who took upon himself our nature, being born of the Virgin Mary, who endured temptation, was crucified, dead and buried, and, glorified, ascended to the throne of His eternal dominion, and ever liveth the Almighty Saviour of all who trust in Him unto obedience.

We believe in a regenerate life, showing as the fruits of the Spirit, love, joy, peace, long suffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, self-control.

We believe in baptism and the Lord's Supper, in the Lord's Day, in the communion of all saints in the one body of Christ.

We believe in the kingdom of God, which Jesus Christ established among men, and of which He is the head—the reign of truth, love, righteousness and peace; that it is to prevail over all the earth, till Christ shall be acknowledged by all the world as Lord to the glory of God the Father

We believe in the resurrection of the dead, in a judgment after death, from which the wicked are to go away into eternal punishment, but the righteous into eternal life.

We believe in the Written Word, the record of God's revelation of himself to men, able when interpreted and enforced by the Spirit to make us wise unto salvation.

[When this creed is read to candidates for church membership, these sentences folow it: "This is the confession of faith adopted by the church. We do not require you to assent to it in every particular. But does it coincide in the main with your own religious belief?"]

The preceding creed is far from that of the New Theology. Compare what it formulates about the resurrection, the final judgment and the future everlasting condition with these utterances of Lyman Abbott in *The Forum* for April, 1890: "We no longer draw any sharp lines between this world and the other world. We dismiss as a part of the dualism of the past the notion of a long and dreary sleep, a fleshly resurrection, and a great gap between the dying and the rising again. Life is continuous, life is one, and death makes no break in it. The dogma that all hope of repentance necessarily ends at the grave, we banish into the lumber room which holds the other fragments of an abandoned dualism. As a man goes out of our sight, such is he on the other side of the veil which hides him from us. We are now in eternity; this world and the other are one.

"God and nature are not dual. We are substituting for this the far grander conception of God omnipotent in nature, and of nature as the thought and not the handiwork of God. We think of him as the soul in the body, omnipotent in all its parts. We believe that all force is in its last analysis, his will; that all so-called natural forces are the out-workings of the divine purposes; that all so-called natural laws are only habits of the divine activity. But this is pantheism, exclaims some frightened reader. If it were we should not be alarmed. But it is not. That God is All is one conception; that he is in All is another. To believe the latter is to be in company with all the elect thinkers of all ages and of all religions. We have, therefore, forever done with the distinction between nature and the supernatural. What man calls the supernatural is but the Spirit force in nature."

Hence, if any considerable number of the Congregationalists of Greeley believe in *all* the above creed, they are far behind the successor of Henry Ward Beecher in Plymouth church, pulpit. But the sentences which follow the creed let down bars sufficiently low to let in people who like the social advantages of this society, while they care little about the creed, and never take the pains to understand its significance.

It is to be hoped that the Presbyterians after they have accomplished the agitated revisal of their *standards*, will be able to offer their people a more liberal and enlightened creed than the above of our First Congregational church.

"Mr. Staver was a man who worked very hard and unselfishly, and was a faithful and good man, and, I think, better appreciated by the people after he left than before. He had an efficient and beloved helper in his wife. Together they did a work for the church for which they ought to be held in grateful remembrance, as I think they are. Mr. Michael was a very active and enthusiastic pastor, and many, especially young people, came into the church during his stay.

Between the time of the organization of the church and my coming here twenty-nine had come into the church, all from other churches. It was nearly five and a half years after its organization before a member was received "on profession." In the eight years of my ministry sixty-four members were received, in the three years of Mr. Staver's thirty-eight, in the two of Mr. Michael's fifty-six."

It will be seen in what a feeble condition Mr. Packard found the church—few in numbers, with a debt and no church edifice. It required much courage on his part and the few, nearly all women, as we have seen, to maintain a separate organization rather than be swallowed up in the other less liberal denominations. We have seen the various overtures they made to their Presbyterian cousins, but unavailingly. During Mr. Packard's pastorate, not only was the debt paid off, but a $9,000 church built, and all paid for save $2,000 when he resigned. The church was built from his plans, and he superintended its erection during every stage of its progress. It is of unique architecture, as will be seen from the cut published in this work. Such is his kindness of heart, the broadness of his views, his considerateness for every one, that he has become endeared to the hearts of the whole people. He has served the county some five years as superintendent of schools. He had always taken a great interest in education, and hence was better qualified for that place than the usual run of preachers.

The following is the account of the formation and growth of the First Presbyterian church of Greeley furnished the writer by the society:

Rev. W. Y. Brown, of Denver, visited Greeley on Saturday, August 6, 1870, and preached the following day. Upon his report to the Presbytery of Colorado, in session at Denver the following week, Rev. Sheldon Jackson, D. D., was instructed to visit Greeley. He did so immediately, and on Sabbath, August 14, 1870, organized the First Presbyterian church of Greeley, with ten members. Of these original charter members, Mrs. R. L. Hall alone is now in active connection with the church. The services were held in the "Public Hall" (Fisk's). The next day lots 12 and 13 in block 25 were donated by the Colony as a site for the church building.

On the arrival of the Evans Colony, Rev. John F. Stewart became the first regular supply. Under his ministrations the present edifice was completed, and dedicated January 21, 1872. There were present at the dedication Revs. John F. Stewart, Sheldon Jackson and R. G. Thompson, of the Presbyterian church; Rev. Mr. MacDonald of the Baptist church, and Rev. G. H. Adams of the M. E. church. The building cost about $2,000. On February 8, 1872, Rev. R. G. Thompson became pastor of the church, continuing in that relation until March 1, 1877. In May of the same year, Rev. J. W. Partridge took charge of the double field of Greeley and Evans, serving them with great acceptability till June, 1879, when he resigned to go to Canon City, Colorado. During his ministry the church rapidly grew in membership and influence. Under his leadership, in the summer of 1878, the building was moved to its present desirable and advantageous location.

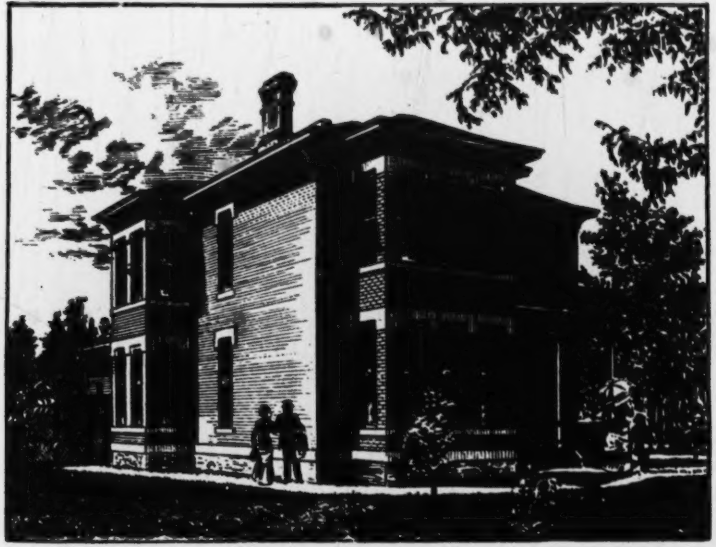
In October, 1879, Rev. John L. Taylor became pastor—the church at the same time assuming self-support. He remained till August, 1882. In September, 1882, Rev. John Laird took the place made vacant by Mr. Taylor's resignation, and supplied the congregation till March, 1884. The load of entire self-support proving heavier than they were able to sustain, the congregation was obliged in 1884 again to ask temporary assistance from the Board of Home Missions.

In June, 1884, Rev. John G. Reid, who for four years previous had been General Missionary Superintendent for the Presbyterian church in Colorado and Wyoming, was called to the pastorate. He remains to this writing. During his ministry the church has steadily advanced in prosperity, its membership increasing in the six years from sixty-five to one hundred and twenty-two. Ninety-two new members have been received; thirty have been dismissed, and five have died.

Among other less notable seasons of revival and special accession, the most worthy of record is that of February, 1886, when sixteen were added to the membership, all on first profession of faith; the result of the faithful presentation of the simple gospel truth, accompanied by the promised blessing of the Holy Spirit.

In the twenty years history of the church, 247 members have been at different times connected with the church; of whom 125 have been dismissed or died.

In the first fourteen years of its history, prior to 1884, the society had raised for all purposes, including the cost of the church edifice, about $9,000. In the last six years they have raised nearly $10,000, of which not far from $1,000 has been for benevolent objects outside of the local society—such as missions, etc. The church is self-supporting, and has the exceptional good fortune to be out of debt.



RESIDENCE OF GEO. H. WEST.

The Sabbath school has an enrollment of 135, possesses a library of 550 volumes—the largest in the city—and because of lack of accommodations in the present building, has an infant department in a separate building. As the church approaches its second decennial it begins to feel the necessity of moving toward the erection of a new edifice which shall better serve its purposes than the present one can. Its plans contemplate a large and commodious structure on the sightly and advantageous location it possesses, which will be a credit both to the city, and to the enterprise of the church.

This church was the first to organize a "Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor," which has had a very prosperous career and stimulated the organization of similar societies in the other churches. The church has also an energetic Ladies' society, which has contributed very materially to its success both in establishing its prosperity, and in swelling the amounts contributed to missionary enterprises.

The officers for 1890 are: Rev. J. G. Reid, pastor; session: Thomas Hadley, J. K. Thompson, B. S. Pier and W. H. Searing; trustees: R. L. Hall, president; B. D. Harper, secretary, and D. W. Elliott, treasurer.

The Baptist church was the first to complete a church edifice, and hence secured the $500 which the Denver Pacific railroad offered as a premium to the church which first achieved that object. The following is the account of the church as furnished by its present pastor:

The first steps toward the organization of a Baptist church in Greeley were taken at a meeting held in the school house on the 25th day of July, 1870. At this meeting preliminary measures were also entered upon looking to the selection of lots, and the erection of a chapel. Several meetings were subsequently held in the interests of the enterprise; nothing definite was accomplished, however, until the 8th of January, 1871, when, at the residence of J. F. Sanborn, an organization was effected. Twenty persons composed the constituent membership, of whom two yet remain as members of the church, Dr. S. K. Thompson and Mrs. J. N. Sanborn.

This church was the second to choose lots, donated by Union Colony for church purposes, and the first to erect a house of worship. The building was completed at a cost of about $6,000, and dedicated in the autumn of 1871, Rev. Dr. W. W. Everts, of Chicago preaching the sermon.

Eight men have served as pastors. The first pastor was Rev. S. M. Brown, who served the church a short time. He was followed by Rev. J. McDonald, who was pastor from March to September, 1872. Rev. H. C. Woods became pastor in March, 1873, and resigned in

October, 1874. He was succeeded by Rev. A. B. Whitney who served the church from July, 1875, to September, 1876. Then came Rev. B. H. Yerkes, whose term of office covered a period of three years, to July, 1880. Rev. T. J. Knapp served as pastor from December, 1880, to December, 1881. During the four years following the church was under the care of Rev. J. B. Cooke. The present pastor, Rev. C. H. DeWolfe, entered upon his duties September. 1886.

During its history 346 persons have been connected with the church. The present membership is 165. The periods of the greatest accession to the membership have been during the pastorates of Woods, Yerkes and Cooke, under each of whom from fifty to sixty persons were received into the church; and during the present pastorate. in which there has been an accession of ninety-five. The church received aid in the early years of its history, but has been self-supporting for the past ten years or more, besides contributing liberally to all benevolent objects. The Sunday school has an enrollment of about 175.

It might here be said that C. W. Sanborn, uncle of B. D. Sanborn, took a decidedly leading part in the erection of the building, and the society owed it especially to his energy and push that it was able to be in ahead of the rest for the above donation.

The following is the history of the Methodist Episcopal church as furnished by the secretary :

The Methodist Episcopal church was organized in 1870 with a membership of thirty-five. Rev. G. H. Adams was appointed pastor at Greeley and Cheyenne, with Rev. Ed. Brooks as assistant, and in the summer of 1871 Rev. Adams was reappointed to Greeley charge. On March 21, 1871, articles of incorporation were filed of the Methodist Episcopal church, and during the spring great efforts were put forth to secure a location and erect an edifice.

A deed for the present location was secured April 15, 1871, and during the summer the present edifice was erected through the persistent efforts of the pastor, Rev. Adams, and his few members. On account of the many trials and hardships experienced by the colonists, and known only to those who passed through the first few years of the early settlement, a heavy debt remained over the little band until the year 1879, when, through the determined perseverance of Rev. W. F. Warren, the indebtedness was all paid.

The following have been the respective pastors : Rev. G. H. Adams, 1870 to '72; R. W. Bosworth to 1873, Geo. Skene to 1874, O. L. Fisher to 1879, W. F. Warren, 1880, S. W. Thornton to 1882, J. H. Merritt to 1884, A. H. Lucas to 1889, B. T. Vincent at present.

During O. L. Fisher's pastorate great interest was manifested and many accessions were made to the church, and much of the floating indebtedness was paid.

The church has worked very efficiently since organization and each pastorate work has been blessed with deep interest.

Present membership about 210. The society has always been self-supporting.

Sunday school numbers about 175, with an average attendance of 125.

The following facts relating to the Protestant Episcopal church here are furnished the writer by S. D. Hunter:

Trinity Parish, Greeley, was organized under Bishop Randall, since deceased, in December, 1870, with a membership of about fifteen communicants.

The church was built in 1877 and cost $3,500, and the parsonage in 1881 at a cost of about the same amount.

The following is a list of deacons and priests who have been in charge of the parish in the order in which they appear below:

Ed. L. Greene, deacon, 1871; Jas. C. Pratt, deacon, 1874; Daniel N. Allen, priest, 1874; Henry T. Bray, priest, 1878; John Gray, priest, 1880; Joseph R. Gray, priest, 1882; W. B. Bolnar, priest, 1882; Benjamin Hartley, priest, 1883; John T. Protheroe, priest, 1884; Wm. G. Coote, deacon, 1890. Salary paid, one thousand dollars. The church property is encumbered with no floating debt. Sunday school consists of about thirty-five children and five teachers. The sittings in the church are free. Salary raised by subscription.

In reference to the Protestant Episcopal church in this place it ought to be said that it largely owes its existence to the efforts of S. D. Hunter, who is the only man of considerable wealth belonging to it. The parsonage is of free gift of his in memory of a deceased daughter. There is little doubt that at times he has paid half the salary of the pastor and now he pays one-fourth of it. Hon. L. Ogilvy, since his advent here, has been quite liberal in his subscriptions for the support of this church. He is not a member, but it is the church to which his family belongs, and the Scotch cling with tenacity to family ties.

It will no doubt be interesting to others besides Episcopalians to know that Henry Truro Bray has become an author since leaving here and of the most pronounced radical type. His great ability and still greater aggressiveness will be remembered. When here he was a high-church-man of the narrowest type. The apostolic succession of priests, or rather bishops, of the English church was a position he was ready to defend against all comers. But he was well read in both modern science and philosophy. These seem at length to have got the better of his Athanasian theology, and historical criticism has upset his former views upon miracles and the Christian evidences. It appears that he is now out of the church, whether driven out or gone of his own accord we are not informed. Still the church that can still keep within its communion and priesthood Heber Newton ought to have a place for Henry T. Bray, if he wished to remain.

The United Presbyterian, the last of the orthodox churches of this place to fall into line is far from the least in performance. Its fine church edifice has cost $17,000—more than the two next best in town. The denomination though small is said to be very wealthy, and if its representatives in Greeley are fair specimens, there is no doubt that this body of Christians has solved the question said by high authority to be impossible, namely, that of serving successfully God and Mammon. However, the individual members are both free-hearted and free-handed in helping forward all generous and humanitarian movements, and they have done far more than their proportionate share in building up the new Greeley of the last decade.

The following report furnished by the church at the request of the writer, gives a complete view, and is highly creditable to the pluck and energy of the few who undertook and carried this work to so successful an end. The growth has been a steady one, and amply proves the vitality of the gospel simply and forcibly preached.

The congregation of the United Presbyterian church was organized February 24, 1884, by Rev. W. H. McCreery acting under the direction of the Presbytery of Colorado. Previous to that time the Board of Home Missions had appointed the Rev. H. F. Wallace to act as pastor of the church. He came to Greeley in November of 1883. There had been no preaching by any United Presbyterian minister previous to his coming. Jackson's Opera House was secured in which to hold service. On December 2, 1883, the first service was held. There were but few members, only two families living in town. Feeling their need of a house of worship, steps were taken to erect a building. Some of the members had in anticipation of such a movement secured the lot where their present church edifice now stands. The erection of the present building was commenced in the spring of 1884. The building committee consisted of J. L. Ewing, J. W. McCreery and R. Patterson. The contractor was Mr. W. S. McElroy. The building was so far completed by October 1 that the lecture room could be used. The first service being held October 5, 1884. The pastor preached from the text, "My presence shall go with you and I will give you rest." At the organization there were twenty-four persons enrolled as members, and at the time of entering the church there were forty-two.

Mr. Eli Taylor, J. W. McCreery and J. L. Ewing were elected ruling elders. Mr. Taylor died August 12, 1884, aged 92. He had been ruling elder in the United Presbyterian church since 1854. He was a soldier in the war of 1812, and was present at the battle of New Orleans. He was faithful to his trust and was received home, "In a full age, like a shock of corn cometh in his season."

On February 7, 1885, a call was made out for the pastoral services of Rev. H. F. Wallace, who had been laboring previously under appointment of the Board of Home Missions, and he was publicly installed as pastor April, 3, 1885. At the same time Mr. J. M. Wallace, who had been a ruling elder in the congregation of Chicago, was installed as a ruling elder, also Mr. C. S. Patton and Mr. Richard Patterson were ordained and installed into the same office.

The congregation continued to worship in the lecture room of the church which was well suited to their use; but in the fall of 1888, finding that the room was too small to accommodate those who desired to worship there, steps were taken to complete the main auditorium.

On July 7, 1889, the church was formally opened and dedicated; Dr. W. T. Meloy, of Chicago, preached the sermon. In the morning the Methodists and Presbyterians joined in the service; and in the evening the members of the Baptist and Congregational churches. About four hundred were present at the morning service, and more than five hundred in the evening. It was an occasion of great joy to the congregation. All had united heartily in the effort to raise sufficient means to complete the auditorium; and all were happy in seeing their efforts crowned with success.

The congregation has now a membership of a hundred and seventeen. They have a Sabbath school of a hundred and forty members, a society of Christian Endeavor among the young people numbering forty-one members; also a junior society of Christian Endeavor for the children numbering thirty-one members. A Ladies' Missionary society has been in operation from the beginning. They also have a Children's Mission band numbering over twenty members. The congregation, besides the erection of the building and contributing to the pastor's salary and current expenses, have contributed over fourteen hundred dollars to the general work of their denomination. God has abundantly blessed them as a congregation in the past, and their prayer is that the past may be but the earnest of the future."

There is still one small Christian body that has a local habitation and a name in Greeley. Some five years ago the Catholics bought a lot and put up a small building as a vestibule for a larger building in the future. Here the Catholic priest. who has a fairly large congregation at Fort Collins, comes occasionally and administers to the few faithful the sacraments of the old church.

The building, such as it is, was erected by a few, mostly servant girls, and we understand that they were helped in their pious endeavor by some not belonging to any church.

Catholics, especially of the male sex, have always been scarce in Greeley. Some may see a connection between this and the temperance principles of the place. It is true that the priesthood of that faith in the United States is taking a strong stand in favor of temperance, but it appears to the writer that not one in ten of the men belonging to this most numerous branch of the Christian church is in favor of prohibition. As a matter of fact they have given this town a wide berth, and a Catholic-Irishman is as rare a sight to see in Greeley as a negro. The scarcity of this race seems less explicable than that of the former, as nearly all the first settlers were not only Republicans but Abolitionists. For a number of years not one was to be seen here, and now they could be counted on the fingers of one hand. Even our barber shops are all run by white men. The writer is not aware of a single piece of real estate in either the town or colony being owned by a negro. The few that are owned are transients.

The comparative strength of the Catholics in Fort Collins is worthy of note, and would seem to prove the surmise that Catholicism, at least Irish-Catholicism, and whisky go in harmony together.

It is farther worthy of note that scarcely any Germans were among the original colonists. L. Von Gohren and family were about the only ones. They are still scarce here. We put them to too much trouble to get their lager beer, which they are supposed not to be able to get along without. It is a subject for speculation how much influence upon the moral and social character of his countrymen, the following sentiment of Martin Luther has had :

> "He who loves not woman, wine, song,
> Will live and die a fool his whole life long."

We know that it is universally quoted by them, and no doubt has ten times as much influence over their lives as his dogmatic theology.

In fine, it may be said that the Evangelical churches work in harmony for moral and social ends, and that the sectarian bitterness so common fifty years ago has here no existence.

# CHAPTER XXII.

HORACE GREELEY'S LETTERS TO N. C. MEEKER, WITH COMMENTS—DEATH OF HORACE GREELEY, AND HOW COMMEMORATED IN GREELEY—PORTRAIT PRESENTED TO THE TOWN BY SINCLAIR TOUSEY, AND THE CEREMONIES ATTENDING IT—POEM OF WM. E. PABOR READ BY H. T. WEST, WRITTEN SEPT. 28TH, 1870.

IN the concluding portion of this work it is the design to speak of individuals, who have especially contributed to the success of the colony; firstly of those who are dead or gone away; and secondly, of all those old colonists still alive and within the fence. We shall now speak of him who has been called our "Patron Saint," and whose name our town bears.

It would be out of place to give here any general biography of Mr. Greeley. His career is a part of the history of his country. We shall only speak of his relations to us, and those existing between him and N. C. Meeker from the time of founding the colony until the death of Mr. Greeley.

Some forty letters written by Horace Greeley to N. C. Meeker during the years 1870, 1871, 1872, have been put into my hands by Mrs. Meeker. It appears from an article accompanying the copies of these letters that Mr. Meeker had prepared them for publication in two issues of *The Tribune*. This article, which we here print as introductory, has no date, and the author is unable to find it from the family. It is the opinion of the writer that Mr. Meeker changed his mind about publishing these letters through modesty. They frequently are quite complimentary, and Mr. Meeker did not relish parading things of this kind. Aside from the date the document explains itself, and is as follows:

"MR. GREELEY'S LETTERS.

"Mr. Greeley wrote about forty letters to the editor of this paper in relation to the affairs of Union Colony and other matters, running through the years 1870, 1871 and 1872, and the last letter was dated a short time before his final fatal sickness. We intend to print these letters next week; perhaps two issues of our paper will be required to complete them. They will form a valuable addition to what is known of Mr. Greeley's character, since his interest in common affairs will be brought into clear light; and besides they will form historical matter of great importance in enabling the general reader to get a fair knowledge of the condition of the colony during the early, critical years. The letters written by the editor of *The Greeley Tribune* to Mr. Greeley contained important accounts of passing events, and they undoubtedly had value in a historical sense, but it may be taken for granted that they are lost.

"It is by no means likely that Mr. Greeley ever wrote so many letters on a subject to which he gave so much attention, nor which are destined to have so lasting an interest. There are many passages which show his acuteness, judgment and comprehension of mind in a remarkable degree, and frequently there are sharp epigrammatic touches which are in his best vein, but it will be seen that he had many troubles, and that at times his health was bad, even a year before he died—a fact not hitherto suspected. Notes of explanation will be added when required."

While I do not attach so much importance to these letters as Mr. Meeker does in the above, still it appears fitting to publish most of them with the few notes the editor of *The Tribune* has left. On suitable occasion farther comments will be made for the purpose of elucidation or criticism. Mr. Greeley's information concerning colonial affairs came through Mr. Meeker, and was distorted at times by the prejudices of the medium.

"New York, Jan'y 31, 1870.

"Friend Meeker—I think well of the beet sugar as an *ultimate* crop in Colorado, but you will recollect that a new country must be five years in getting ready to grow anything beyond the supply of its own urgent wants. Building, fencing, breaking up, irrigation, etc., are to engage every energy for at least five years. It may be well to locate with a view to ultimate sugar making, but bread and butter are all that can be looked to at present.

"Yours,

"Horace Greeley."

"New York, Feb'y 19, 1870.

"Friend Meeker—You will have heard that we have a large sum of money for the colony—I believe nearly $30,000. I understand that it has nearly done coming. I doubt that your visit to Salt Lake will pay. Mormon irrigation is a rude affair—nothing that you cannot easily imagine, and I much doubt finding in Utah so good an opportunity to combine irrigation with water power as in Colorado, where the Boulder, Thompson, or Horse creek, issues from the mountains.

I have seen nothing equal to them except on Carson river, though I hope you may find its equal in the sources of the Arkansas. I would like to hear that you had settled where corn will grow, peaches ripen and where grapes are not impossible. Still the region beyond the Boulder is fine for grass and I think for winter grain and roots also.

"Yours,

"HORACE GREELEY."

Mr. Greeley was right about the uselessness of the Locating Committee visiting Utah. There was, as he said, nothing about their system of irrigation that they could not easily imagine. We have seen from Bishop Musser's statement made some years afterwards, that the ditches of the Mormons were small and had on an average the excessive fall of twenty-three feet to the mile. It was no doubt through Mr. West's influence that the committee visited Utah. He had relatives there, and had visited the country several times before. He had a high opinion of Mormon irrigation and was in the habit of quoting their methods for our imitation, after we had outstripped them far in the art. There is, however, one thing that the committee could have learned of the Mormons that would have been of the highest importance—the size of ditches needed to irrigate a given area. Learning this, together with the slope of their ditches, they would have had something like adequate ideas of the size to make our ditches, and hence of the cost of them; and it would have hindered them from squandering the money of the colony on comparatively unimportant enterprises.

It will be seen that Mr. Greeley was somewhat familiar with this country, having visited it ten years before; and had then had an eye to its agricultural capabilities; but his knowledge was general and could be of no use in advising the committee.

Mr. Greeley's next letter is dated July 10th, and is especially devoted to the subject of loaning the colony funds still in his hands so that it should get interest. It also speaks of his having been quite sick for some weeks—quite unable to attend to business.

"NEW YORK, August 25, 1870.

"MY DEAR MR. MEEKER—Sickness and hurry have prevented my answering your letter as I would gladly have done, and now I have nothing to say but that I have faith in your energy and rejoice in your prosperity.

"Did Ralph or any one hold out an expectation that those who were sick or dissatisfied, or anything of the sort, might have their $150 returned on application? I cannot believe that any one ever made so suicidal an offering.

"At all events I urge that all these home-sicks be bought out, even on their own terms. They give trouble and create ill-feeling. Suppose I were to buy a few shares at $150 each, could I not sell them soon at $200?

"I would prefer that the colony should buy, but if that is not best, let us devise some way to stop the grumblers' mouths. They can never help the colony except by leaving it.

"I hope to see your colony October 10th. My health is improved, but not restored. I am just home from a visit to the Adirondacks.

"Yours,

"H. GREELEY.

"N. C. MEEKER, ESQ."

In reference to Mr Greeley's question as to whether he could buy "certificates at $150, soon to sell at $200," it may be said that the colony raised about this date the price of certificates to $200, but were able to sell none at that figure. Certificates upon which good locations had been entered sold above par, especially if they had well located business lots on them. But at this date unlocated certificates were below par. As has been noticed quite a trade was going on in these certificates.

"AUGUST 31, 1870.

"DEAR SIR—I have yours of the 25th inst. I must answer hurriedly. I think I can let you have $1,000 in October, if you want it, or I might buy out some of your investment to that amount and thus give you the money you need. I presume there is little doubt I shall be able to do one of these. As to *The Tribune* your remuneration must depend on the value of your services. This can't be determined beforehand. *The Tribune* pays *me* for what I do, not whatsoever it seems I may need, and the rule is the same for all. * *

"Yours,

"HORACE GREELEY."

The above offer of a loan of $1,000 was accepted and its history detailed elsewhere.

The next letter is dated December 26, and hence after his visit here, to which there is no allusion; but he gives his views about *The Greeley Tribune*, which had been commenced in November, as follows:

"I feel more hopeful of *The Greeley Tribune*; the first number was unworthy; the last that reached me (No. 5) was good and I noticed it accordingly (in *N. Y. Tribune*). * *

"H. G."

"NEW YORK, Jan'y 15, 1871.

"DEAR SIR—Presuming that my lot is where it can be irrigated, I ask you to hire some good man to plow it as deeply as possible at as early a day as may be. Then, if it is safe from wandering cattle, I want it planted or sowed with locust, well scalded. At all events I wish I could find a bushel of hickory nuts, and two of white oak acorns that would germinate. I would like also to sow white pine seed, if they could be had in a fit condition. I do not want to *plant trees* that would cost too much; but mostly to sow seeds of the best varieties for your soil and climate. If we cannot find any that are just right but locust, let us sow that, and let a part of the land be sowed to grasses or roots till next fall, when we can get acorns and hickory nuts.

"If you have time to think of the matter, please make any improvements on any plan that may suggest itself. I may send on some one to occupy my land next spring, but for the present it seems to me the best to put it into forest trees.

"H. G."

This land that Mr. G. speaks of was a two and a half acre tract east of the railroad which had been located on a certificate that had been presented to Mr. Greeley by the colony for his freely rendered services. It was unfavorably located for irrigation by Mr. Meeker, who had poor judgment in these things, and the colony was at great expense to build a dyke to it—costing far more than the value of the land and making others grumble when the colony would not do likewise for other lands similarly situated. Besides this dyke was made of sandy soil which gophers worked in and made the running of water over it a hard task and had much to do with the failure of Mr. Meeker in growing trees for Mr. Greeley.

The following is Mr. Meeker's comment on the above letter:

"Mr. Greeley's lot was planted in the spring with 1,000 small evergreens, 2,000 larches. Water was obtained with great difficulty. A few lived until next year; then all died. The locusts and acorns were sowed, a few came up, fewer lived. The oaks grew only a few inches high. Then the whole was sowed to black walunts which came up well, but winter killed. Mr. Greeley had no idea of the great difficulty that is presented in growing even hardy trees on this soil. The only trees now growing are cottonwoods and box elders, which are doing well.

"N. C. M."

It may be farther said that there is not a tree on this lot save a row of large cottonwoods on its western boundary on the edge of the above named dyke. The curious can find this piece of land by knowing that this row of trees stands about one-fourth of a mile directly west of the county hospital. It has been sold, like all of Mr. Greeley's property here, by his heirs, and is so poor a piece of land that it has not been cultivated for some years.

"NEW YORK, March, 1871.

"I have your long, cheerful letter only five days old. I am in no hurry about the plowing of my lot, but want it seeded *thick* with trees—thin out and trim up hereafter; for I want the trees to keep down the weeds. Time will tell which ought to be cut out and which to be left to grow.

"I never feared our town would have traffickers enough; I did fear that too many would cling to the village and shop-keeping.

"Production is, after shelter, the first need of every settlement. I know the obstacles to this, lack of fence, water, teams, etc. Still I want to hear that our 1500 people have 15,000 acres growing crops before 1871 is closed. I know I shall not hear anything like this, but I doubt not that more will sell tape and candy than place themselves between the handles of the plow—I don't know when a man looks better. Do let me hear of 500 fields started before June. * * * Let us have all the money devoted to improving the north side as soon as may be; that big ditch will never pay interest until that is done.

"H. G."

We can here see that he was laboring under the delusion of believing that the ditch on the north side was big enough to irrigate 15,000, when in reality we lost half of the 2,000 acres of crops under that ditch the season following. Yet we can see how well he understood human nature at large—ready to shirk hard work—and how he honored the men who faced it.

Next letter relates mostly to his trees.

May 17, 1871, he writes: "Of course I know that your river must be bank full at this season, as I crossed it early in June thirteen years ago, and found it a great, swift stream. But the last was a very snowy winter, and your irrigation will soon call for many times its present demand, and so do not be too confident. Cameron promised to obtain and send me the exact statistics of cattle losses last winter in Colorado. He does not supply it. Can't you make good the deficiency? I guess one-half your cattle died or came through very poor. How is it?

"I must not leave here till my invalid wife gets better, which will be a month hence; then I presume the many tasks of the canvass will keep me here throughout the summer. But I have thrown off *The Tribune* and breathe freely. Be good to my trees."

He had seen Cameron when he was in New York city lecturing on behalf of the "Fountain Colony," and he appears to have promised him as above about reporting the loss of cattle. But the General was too crafty for that. He was looking to the suffrage of the stock interest some day, and it did not like to have the truth told. Mr. Meeker we shall see was less cautious.

"June 9, 1871.

"As to loss of evergreens and grass we made a mistake in ordering them, and I am sure there was a mistake in not using the water on the north side. If the main ditch had been running full by January 10,000 acres might have been well soaked. But we only live this life to know how to do better in the next. We must realize that all our land must be irrigated in April and May, and to plow and let on the water from October to May in preparation for next year's crop.

"Now please, if my evergreens fail, ask Ralph to get a cask of acorns, hickory nuts and chestnuts to be planted in rows next November, and send me a bill, and don't let them go to ruin any more than they must.

"I am home two days, but have hardly slept, and am very weary. I hope you will have no bad luck, but I tremble at the thought of collecting water rents, (to keep the works in order.) My wife is in London, suffering less, but no nearer recovery."

Here it will be seen that Mr. Greeley imagined that we could irrigate all winter and plow also, not knowing that during most winters both are impossible. He was thinking of our having an *Italian climate*, but during this first winter the mercury reached—36. But we need not be surprised at Mr. Greeley misunderstanding in this matter, when we know that the agricultural press of the state keep giving us this advice so impossible to follow. Besides if all the ditches that are now constructed should try to irrigate in the winter there would not be water enough to run through them even if it did not freeze up.

"June 29, 1871.

"I have been very sick and sorry I could not promptly answer yours of the 21st. I have not been able till now. I am sorry my pines are lost, but better luck next time. * * *

"This year's experience is not too dear, if it brings you to irrigate in winter or at least early in spring. Of course if all wait to seeding time there must be want and consequent loss. Plow in the fall, sow winter grain. When you told me water was not needed till June, because there were spring rains, I should have known better. But we are always wise to-morrow. Let us be sure not to mistake next day. Another setback would shake the colony.

"I guess we may as well keep out of endorsing any other colony till this one gets fairly on its legs. I repeat the request that I be allowed to apply $155 now, or any time for a new certificate. I am better but not well. The climate and living in the South did not agree with me.

"H. G."

"July 1, 1871.

"I believe you never wrote an article for *The Tribune* that was not printed therein, and I do not see why it should not continue to be so. But if you write about the Pike's Peak colony (Fountain), it must be clearly understood that you are to write about what you see, and not as a paid advocate. Better state facts and let readers draw their own inferences.

"H. G."

The above is worthy to be printed in letters of gold.

"July 22, 1871.

"I am among the White Mountains, 2,000 feet above the sea, and the air does me good, but I can only remain a few days. I am still feeble and troubled with rheumatism, sciatica, etc. I hope to visit you in October. Your letter gives no direction about the colony money. I asked for explicit directions. All values are distorted by the European war, so that it is hard to say who or what is surely solvent.

"H. G."

"NOTE—Mr. Sinclair borrowed some colony money for *The New York Tribune* association and paid us interest.

"N. C. MEEKER."

"NEW YORK, August, 1871.

"Ida cannot leave her mother who is unable to travel more than one day by rail, if at all. They, including Gabrielle, are now in London, and the girls would like to come home in October, but I do not know that they can. Ida and she may decide to remain in Europe. Her mother did quite well in the Isle of Wight last winter, and may try it again. * * I want to see 10,000 acres in crops next season. That big ditch is not paying interest. I go northwest to speak

Tuesday night. I am sick now, but must travel 800 miles right off. I shall write at Chicago.

"NEW YORK, October 3, 1871.

"I rejoice that you have almost concluded not to borrow. Better sell all the land still owned by the colony even though you buy it back when you need it. I have a horror of debt. If I can ever get out I will stay out, and will never more go in, and I am only in on account of others. Do try to sell lands in small tracts, if possible, and keep out of debt.

"H. G."

"NEW YORK, October 10, 1871.

"I don't believe the colony could borrow $10,000. I doubt the wisdom of so doing. I dread debt in co-operation as I do poison. It always breeds trouble. I am confident you could advertise at Denver, Cheyenne, Omaha, etc., and sell your lots and tracts at cost or over, and so raise the money. I would rather sell cheap than borrow and mortgage.

"H. G."

Note by N. C. Meeker:

"The advice was taken, and a large and successful sale was made."

To this it may be added that our advertising in the papers of the cities named was money thrown away, as all the land then sold at auction was bought by our own people.

"NEW YORK, October 16, 1871.

"I don't like to see your colony discouraged. I don't like the colony's getting into debt and mortgaging its property. Couldn't you sell lands to the requisite amount? Co-operative debts are bad. Your grist mill is all right, but it ought to run by steam. You can't always have the water, if you do now. You ought to have made a steam mill at the start. I am afraid your race will be in the way of irrigation, and I guess your pond, if you have one, will impair the health of the town. The running of too much water in your streets is the cause of your fevers.

"I hope your new railroad will go ahead, and I am very glad the colonists do not have to put money into it. Railroads are good for everybody but those whose money builds them.

"Look out for fires. Let those who can, insure. A fire might discourage you. Your potatoes will all be needed. You ought to have grown more wheat. Do push on my forest trees, and all other people's forest trees.

"H. G."

"November 12, 1871.

"I rejoice that your folks have resolved to dig out, rather than borrow out. Borrowing out is only getting deeper in. And now will the land that is to be cultivated next year be thoroughly saturated with water this winter? One lesson like this year should suffice. Do let us have 10,000 acres grown in 1872.

"H. G."

"NEW YORK, November 5, 1871.

"I have yours of October 30th, and it gladdens me that you have resolved to do your own work, and not run in debt. If I can ever get in sight of $1,000 again I mean to send it to you and have you invest it for me in a piece of the colony land, that I can sell again at a profit. That is the right way without increasing farther embarrassment, and in that way induce several to purchase $2,000 or $3,000 worth of your unoccupied land.

Of course it is right to have a grist mill; not right, I think, to run it by water. You will soon need all that for irrigation, but I hope you will have a railroad to coal by that time. I don't get your paper this week.

"H. G."

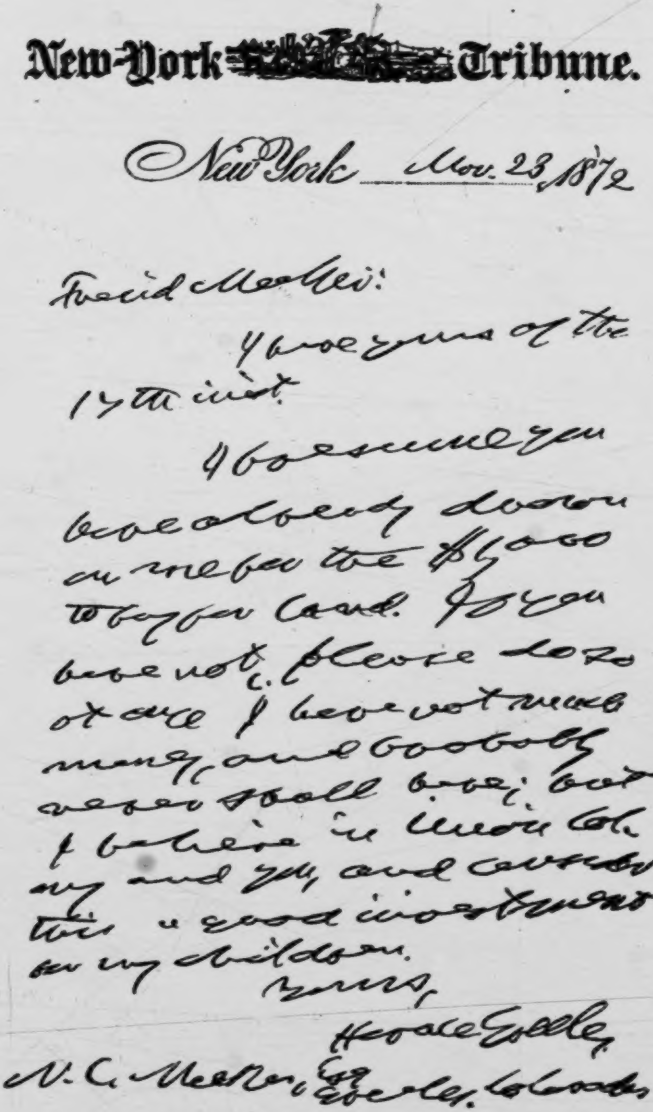
P. S.—I have no wish to buy more land, but if the colony does need to sell land, and there are no actual settlers who want it, you are authorized to buy $1,000 worth and draw on me for the cash. Give me ten days' notice so that I can procure it. If I should buy more land I should probably want to do something towards inclosing it. But we will think of that after we get it.

"H. G."

Mr. Meeker purchased for Mr. Greeley from the colony $1,000 worth of land. This land lay mostly in the Poudre bottom just north of the cemetery. He paid for this about the price the colony did and it was dear at that. I think it was an eighty-acre tract, which would be $12.50 an acre. Some of it ran up in the bluffs and was worthless. I doubt if the Greeley estate, which has long ago sold out all the interests of the family here, realized half of what Mr. Greeley paid for this tract. However Mr. Meeker acted in good faith and thought that he was making a valuable investment for his friend.

It will be seen that Mr. Greeley expected his example would induce others to buy. It did one other, Mr. Cranford of New York, who also sent one thousand dollars for Mr. Meeker to invest for him, and was by Mr. Cranford's wishes put into lands above the ditch south of town. He has held on to it and it has become valuable property

HORACE GREELEY.



New-York Tribune.

New York Nov. 23, 1872

Friend Meeker:

I have yours of the 17th inst.

I presume you have already drawn on me for the $1,000 to pay for land. If you have not, please do so at once. I have not much money, and probably never shall have; but I believe in Union Col. and you, and consider this a good investment for my children.

Yours,

Horace Greeley.

N. C. Meeker, Esq.
Greeley, Colorado.

[NOTE.—The above is Horace Greeley's last letter to N. C. Meeker and us; and was written only six days before his death, and three days before the fatal attack.]

since the Greeley and Loveland canal was built. The money coming from both these purchases was put into the enlargement of Number Two and helped us to cross one of the most dangerous streams the colony met in its way.

It is also deserving of notice that the advice of Mr. Greeley to sell out and dig out of our difficulties rather than borrow out, was the wisest kind of counsel and was very much needed, as Mr. Meeker set so high a value on the colony lands that others who thought quite differently would have had difficulty in inducing him to give his consent for their sale, but for this positive and repeated insistence of Mr. Greeley. This is the rock on which were split three colonies which we have named. They mortgaged their canals and could not realize when the obligations matured. We owe the memory of Mr. Greeley a deep debt of gratitude not only for his persistent advice but for the money which he invested here to help us out in this perhaps crucial crisis of our existence.

"February 7, 1872.

"I have yours of the 30th enclosing receipt. Thank you. I *beg you to tell the square truth* about the losses of cattle in Colorado during this winter. I believe that calves will be short-lived, the milk of mothers being so scarce next spring. I directed a check to you of $5.62 to pay balance due to close my account as treasurer.

"H. G."

It was Mr. Meeker's reply to the above urgent request of Mr. Greeley that made the cattlemen so down on the former. Mr. Meeker said he wrote only a private letter to Mr. Greeley on the subject, but he thought that the world should know it, and published it in *The Tribune*. We have seen with what consequences to his friend here.

"February 5, 1872.

"I guess you will not be able to leave the colony this year. They cannot spare you till they shall have overcome the discouragements of this cold winter. Then the trees are to be planted, and liquor questions to be settled, and the big ditch on the north side to be set to irrigating farms in great numbers. So you will have to stick a year more. By that time you will be able to understand the trials of Moses and his stiff-necked followers crying out 'Make us gods like those of the Egyptians. Why have you brought us out into the wilderness to perish?' etc., etc. Let no one think of being a reformer till after he shall have read the book of Exodus carefully at least three times through.

"I cannot understand why the ditch does not supply you with water for all culinary purposes. Do you let it go dry in the winter? Please record with your authorities my solemn protest against letting cattle run at large within the fenced limits. There will be no use to plant trees to be devoured by cattle.

"Yours,

"H. G."

"March 9, 1872.

"You ought to insist on being relieved from all official duties connected with the colony. Keep up your paper; that is your share. Throw all official labors upon others. Then you can obtain by work your living. I know the paper will pay, but you must stop giving credit. Now take hold in your paper and drive your people out on the soil. It is a burning disgrace that you have not flour to sell and wheat of your own raising. Resolve that you will have it this year. Talk savagely as to the folly of shutting yourselves up in a village and letting your water run to waste. Insist that the water shall be let on now, and 10,000 acres irrigated before May. You must govern the colony through the paper. You don't talk half enough about farming, irrigation, crops, etc., etc. I want to get out to see the colony in the fall; but I never want to see my land till it is green with growing trees. Don't let it go by this spring.

"H. G."

The next letter reiterates his advice to plow in the fall and water all winter, and then he adds: "It may be I shall come out to live with you after my trees get a start. Please start all you can this spring. I would like to have an acre of larch and some white pine if they can easily be grown. You see I don't want four years more of Grant. I won't stand it, if there is any reasonable alternative, and that may drive me out of politics and newspapers. I feel that my trade is a *mean one*, because it compels me to think other men's thoughts. I prefer my own.

"H. G."

"April 8, 1872.

" * * I am afraid that your ditches and grist mill will pinch each other for water. What do you say to that? I do hope you will *sell out* your paper. One man cannot do everything. You are growing old like myself, and ought to take the world more easily. Just sell out and you will no longer be bothered, in money matters or otherwise. I heartily wish I was out of politics, out of journalism, and able to work moderately for a humble livelihood. Too much care is wearing me out. I do not yet see my way out, but I should like to be able to spend at least a month with you next year, and the rest of the season visiting the Pacific slope.

"H. G."

He was soon to be deeper into politics than ever—alas! fatally deep.

"May 22, 1872.

"I do want to see the general result of the losses of cattle and sheep in Colorado. Cameron I thought promised it; then I looked to you for it. Shall we not have it?

"Your article of the 6th, on the Cincinnati nominations, (when Mr. G. was nominated for president) is the best I have yet seen.

"H. G."

In the next more impossible prescriptions about plowing, improving canals, winter irrigation, and concludes:

"My wife is home, a hopeless invalid, but bright and active in mind."

And in the next:

"Be patient with my oaks. They are slow, but sure. Have I no hickories? If not, try, please try another peck of real shagbarks for me this fall, as early as you can get them. I hope to visit your town early next summer."

This was written August 14, in the heat of the campaign, but nothing could make him forget his trees.

"September 29, 1872.

"I am just back from a long tour; rather weary but in good health.

"I would not go to Europe without selling out your interest. Ralph is very good, but you——

"Your paper ought to pay or be given up. As the first and *only* one in the colony, it must pay in time. But you cannot well carry it while in Europe. You and I are getting on in years and ought to diminish our cares, not increase them. If you go away please put my trees in charge of some one who will take good care of them. They must not be neglected. Ought I not to plant some on my larger lot next spring? I want to sell that lot.

"Your policy of selling land and enlarging canals is good. You must carry it into effect before you leave for Europe. I don't work on *The Tribune* now, but I guess there will be no trouble about your engagement for Europe. Please make your proposition in business form and enclose it to Mr. Sinclair. I wish this presidential election was over.

"H. G."

"October 15, 1872.

" * * I still look with apprehension on your leaving, while the colony owes or owns or holds anything. In an important sense, *you are the colony.* What would the Exodus have been without Moses, and Joshua, I fear, has not yet appeared.

"If you can find one who will break my land for the first crop, let him at once. If he ought to have two crops give them. But my skies darken, and I must not agree to pay out more money unless it be very little. But don't starve my trees. Plant some on the lower lot if desirable.

"My wife is going at last; I do not think she can last the month out. She may. I am urged to speak out West or Chicago, but I do not think I shall be able to leave her. I am glad you like my speeches.

"H. G."

The above, how pathetic. But no accumulation of cares, sorrows or pecuniary needs can divert him from his beloved trees.

"October 27, 1872.

"I rejoice in your resolution to take care of yourself. I wish I had done more in that line. Make a proposition of your visit to Europe and send it to Mr. Sinclair, and it shall be considered. I do trust you will be able to sell the company's land, and some part of your own if you want to. Couldn't you sell out your paper to those proposing to start another. Surely one is enough for Greeley.

"H. G."

"November 7, 1872.

"We are in no condition to make new contracts to-day, nor I think can we soon. Our luck is very bad. Nor can any of us buy land. I would much rather sell mine at any price. If there is a chance to sell either piece let me hear of it.

"H. G."

The above was written when he was suffering from the first shock of his terrible election defeat, but he soon rallies and is more hopeful in the next, and is again ready to make sacrifices to buy more land and help us out of our pinches. The following proposed purchases were never made. He soon fell into his last short, fatal illness, and with him died the long cherished hope of N. C. Meeker to be sent to Europe as a correspondent of *The New York Tribune.*

"November 18, 1872.

"I have yours of the 13th, but not your last paper. I presume that will come to-morrow.

"I will try to buy you a draft for the lands you select for me, and shall no doubt do so. But you must see that something is done in the way of planting this spring. I hope to be out to you in the fall, but oh, do make the people plow and plant. You are now *trusting too much to railroads, too little to planting and tilling the soil.*

"H. G."

"November 23, 1872.

"FRIEND MEEKER—I have yours of the 7th inst. I presume you have already drawn on me for the $1,000 to buy land. If you have not please do so at once. I have not much money, and probably never shall have; but I believe in Union Colony and you, and consider this a good investment for my children.

"HORACE GREELEY."

The above were his last words to his friend N. C. Meeker and to us, and they are precious, trustful, hopeful words.

Three days after writing the above Mr. Greeley lost his consciousness—his sleeplessness, first induced while watching at the bedside of his dying wife, turning into brain fever. He passed away on the night of the 29th or only six days after writing the above. His last words were, "It is done."

*The Greeley Tribune* following the report of his death was draped in mourning. We take the following from its editorial:

"Horace Greeley dies, and a most remarkable period in the world's history closes. He dies, as the noblest and best have died, with those he served most, his enemies. He dies, and his followers, who are to have a name because they followed him, denied that they ever knew him. Weary and broken-hearted he dies. He is gone, but the essence which is to remain on earth, shall dwell in this valley, and his magnanimous soul shall glow in these institutions, and the name and the fame of him shall continue for innumerable ages, growing fresher and brighter, until these snowy mountains shall sink away, and the rivers become dusty and the sun itself die."

By a resolution of the board of trade, the public schools and public buildings of Greeley were draped in mourning for thirty days. A public meeting was held on the 30th here or the day after his death.

On the occasion speeches were made by General Cameron, N. C. Meeker, E. Hollister, S. S. Kennedy and Judge Hanna. W. E. Pabor read a poem which may be said to have been improvised for the occasion, from which we quote the following stanza:

Dead, and we to whom he stood,
  As a sponsor and a friend,
We in sorrow lowly bend,
  Like children in their orphanhood.

After the reports of his obsequies in *The Greeley Tribune* for December 25th appeared another worthy poem by Mr. Pabor, and in the same issue one read at the Greeley Lyceum the meeting before from which we quote:

"Not overwork upset his mighty brain,
  Nor yet domestic sorrow's added train;
Smote down by their ingratitude lies slain
  The people's champion, now mourned in vain.

Though gone, his vitalizing life abides,
  His thought with every honest impulse rife,
Has worked itself into the Nation's life,
  And still shall move it, as the moon the tides.

Ah, if thy weary wounded spirit see
  The deep, sincere and universal grief—
A Nation led by its sad victor chief
  Pours on thy bier, sweet solace it must be.

For not yon sunny azure fields of day
  Have balm to heal thy wounded spirit's smart,
Like that distilling from thy Nation's heart
  Subdued by grief, now thine henceforth, alway."

Mr. Greeley's death was ruinous to Mr. Meeker in many ways. We have seen that *The Tribune* under Mr. Greeley had never rejected an article of his. Now all is changed. The new editor, Mr. Reid, appears to have had but little use for his productions. In standing by his friend he had lost the regular republican patronage for his paper, and a rival journal had been started, and with the design of breaking him up. From then to the day of his death *The Tribune* was a terrible burden to him. We have related how that the loan given him by his friend to help him to start and sustain the paper was now demanded with interest by the executors of the Greeley estate. After reading the foregoing letters it is easy to see that Mr. Greeley would never have made the demand, and his daughters the heirs of their father's benignant spirit quite as much as his worldly estate, released him from embarrassment when the management fell into their own hands.

It will also be seen what a friend the farmers of the colony had in Mr. Greeley, and how clearly he saw in what line lay our prosperity.

Advocate as he always was for home manufactures he had no faith in those that had to be coddled into being, nor in railroads to build up a place that had no permanent, self-sustaining industries. Could he visit Greeley and the fine agricultural country that surrounds it, he would largely see his hopes realized, and that at last the *big ditch* was *paying* interest. We had to reach this land of Beulah by slow stages, up "Hills of Difficulty," through valleys of the "Shadow of Death" and "Vanity Fairs," the latter by no means left behind yet.

Some thirteen years after the death of Horace Greeley, a fine life-size portrait of him was presented to the town by Sinclair Tousey, of New York City, through N. F. Cheeseman. It was accepted with appropriate ceremonies and hung up in the high school behind the desk of the principal. We quote the following from the proceedings which took place from the front steps of the high school on "Arbor Day," May 5th, 1886:

"Professor Copeland then announced that as Governor Eaton was unable to be present, Captain Boyd would take charge of the ceremonies connected with unveiling the portrait of Horace Greeley presented to the city of Greeley by Sinclair Tousey, of New York.

Captain Boyd made a few brief remarks on the character of Mr. Greeley, speaking of him as a man of integrity, a friend of the people and an uncompromising opponent of slavery. In closing the speaker said, 'I am not here to pronounce an eulogy on Horace Greeley, but this I will say: although he did not found the town of Greeley, yet I may speak of him as our 'patron saint.'

Mr. Cheeseman here read the following letter from Mr. Tousey, after which he unveiled the picture:

NEW YORK, APRIL 21ST, 1886.
14 EAST 46TH STREET.

*Mr. N. F. Cheeseman, Greeley, Colo.:*

DEAR SIR: I have sent by United States Express to the town of Greeley, addressed to your care, a life-size portrait of the great man in whose honor you have named your village. This portrait has hung in my office for over thirteen years, and I consider it a most excellent likeness. I have often been told of the thrift and prosperity of your town, and though I have never seen it, I feel a great interest in its welfare and in the welfare of its inhabitants. If every one of these could walk in the footsteps of its illustrious founder in integrity, generosity and uprightness, in both private and business life, you would soon become the model village of the world.

I directed that the picture be properly packed for transportation and hope it may be received in good shape and to the satisfaction of your citizens.

Your sincere well wisher,

SINCLAIR TOUSEY.

The Hon. J. C. Shattuck then presented the portrait to the city of Greeley in a neat and appropriate speech, a few extracts only can be here given. He said:

### HON. J. C. SHATTUCK'S ADDRESS.

*Ladies and Gentlemen* : I have been accustomed, in witnessing ceremonies of a kindred character, to hear the speech and then have the picture or statue unveiled. I am very glad to have this order reversed, for now if the speech wearies you, you can rest yourselves by turning your eyes upon the picture of this benign sage, philosopher and friend not only of the city of Greeley, but of mankind. It is told me that this picture was a present from Mr. Greeley to Mr. Tousey, who now, coming as he knows towards the close of his life, thinks that the city of Greeley is the proper custodian of such a treasure.

Only a few years ago these features, either as they are, or in caricature, were familiar to every eye among the millions of America. His name was a household word from one end of the land to the other, revered and honored by many and reviled by others. This man is one of the products of American civilization. Such a life as his is possible only in the society which has grown up upon this continent. Out of the lowest surroundings he forced his way up by the sheer force of his intellect, until his name stands, and will stand as long as the English language is spoken, as one of the great ones of earth. In the passing years the asperities of partisan conflict are dying out, and all are coming to recognize this man as one of the great educators and benefactors of the human race. His early advantages were poor. Now, my young friends, do not make the mistake that because Horace Greeley had few and poor school advantages in his youth and yet attained fame and great honor, that you can be great by slighting those that are offered you. What he would have achieved had he had the advantages that you now enjoy, no man can tell.

* * * * * * * *

I believe that his course after the war was simply a part of the man, a necessity which he could not avoid with his mind formed as it was. He cherished no malice; the object of his life had been accomplished. He knew full well, wonderful student of history that he was, that the South that had been conquered could not be held as a conquered province, and he was eager to have it transformed into a loyal, self-governing, integral part of this nation. If he made any mistake it was that he did not estimate fully the importance of time, in the accomplishment of the ends which he saw with his clear vision must come before we could again be a nation. He saw the future then, as he and Mr. Meeker saw, when they looked over this prairie in their dim, prophetic vision, the city which is given to us to see with eyes of flesh. So he saw the united country and took his stand in favor of it then and there, in words and acts that for a time alienated many of his friends who thought he was wrong.

Let no man say that he was great because he had opportunities such as can never come again; that in his day there rose a great and vital question upon which it was possible for a man to take a stand and become great, and, that question being settled, the opportunity has passed forever. It is not so. There are upon this land to-day questions not less vital, not less intricate or difficult to solve than the slavery question of fifty years ago. The opportunity for some man to be a second Horace Greeley, to mould public opinion and thus lead us as a people out of the great difficulties that are accumulating to-day, is upon us now and here. Here is an opportunity for some man to lead us to a peaceful solution of these great problems. Who can look forward to the questions with which these children must grapple in the coming days of this country, without his heart standing still with dread. I found upon my arrival here yesterday that the question as to who founded the town of Greeley is agitating the community somewhat, and that one of your local papers in its last issue was largely devoted to the discussion of that question. I cover the case, from my standpoint, by saying that great and good as this man was, marvelous as was his lifework, he did not found the town of Greeley. He did not originate the idea, but he lent the use of his great name to the man who did originate the idea and gave his endorsement to the scheme. He went still further and consented to be called the treasurer of the society and became responsible for the money that was sent in. He did not invest a cent in the town until during the dark days of 1871-2, when he sent Mr. Meeker $1,000 to help us out, and took a forty-acre lot in exchange therefor. Honor to whom honor is due. I detract nothing from his fame when I say that he did not found the town of Greeley. I know something as to how this town was founded. I know amid what heart-breaking disappointment its pioneers wrought. I know how they wrestled for years to wring a sustenance for themselves and their little ones out of the stubborn desert. And I am proud that I was accorded the good fortune to be among that noble band of pioneers. I thank God that these streets are filling up with happy, luxuriant homes. May the good work go on. May you realize your condition, accept your good fortune, work as faithfully as did the pioneers to make this a first-class town. Vigilance, eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. You must stand to your principles. You have a name here, as well as throughout the land, of which any man and any woman may well be proud. See to it that it is not blurred. And you, friends, who have so recently come here, and have already done and are still doing much to build up and beautify this lovely city, I beg of you not to forget the patience, labor and tears through which the pioneers wrought to lay the foundation, to plant the sapling which you can now nourish into a strong and beautiful tree. (Applause.)

The resolutions were as follows:

*Resolved*, That we send greeting to Mr. Tousey and assure him of the steadfast determination of the people of Greeley to abide by the principles of its founders; that we thankfully accept his beautiful gift, and assure him that it is the height of our ambition "to make Greeley the model city of the world."

Mr. H. T. West, one of the members of the locating committee of Union Colony, in an appropriate speech received the gift on the part of the city, and paid a glowing tribute to the donor for his generosity, recited several interesting incidents in the history of the colony and town and closed with a humorous poem which pleased the assembly, and the exercises were closed.

We have given Mr. (now Doctor) Shattuck's speech so far as it was published in *The Tribune* for two reasons. It was appropriate to the occasion and the memory of the philanthropist and statesman in the relation in which he stood to us, and also because it is our desire to preserve here something from the lips of our friend J. C. Shattuck who has been honored by and an honor to our people on many occasions.

The poem referred to as read by H. T. West was the production of Wm. E. Pabor, published in *The Denver News*, September 28th, 1870, and as it is one of his happiest efforts in a humorous line and also explains the situation in the early days, we insert it here also.

### VRUM KREELEY.

"Vonce upon a time I says to mine vrow,
  Vot you dinks, hay? Out to de crate vest
A Golony goes; keeking up a crate row
  An pilding a town on de prarees prest.
Und de old man und de old vooman und de young vrow
  Und de papies, und de bots, de kettles und de bans, dey go mit de rest.

Vel Schon, says mine vrow, lets go mit them too,
  Und duke Hans und Karl, und der leetle Katrine;
Sauer Kraut und Sweitzer Kase, und 'pully boy for you'–,
  I shouts right out on der village green;

Und I schumps up und hugs mine vrow like every dings.
Till she cries " vy Schon, ain't you shamed to be seen ?"

So we backs oop mit der railroad cars in May,
Und pids good by, mit all der beeples round ;
Who shake mit der hats ebery time, und say,
Schon Schackhass on a fool's errant bound.
But I trinks schwei lager beer und I feels goot, und
I says nix cum rous, till I gits mit der railroads on der ground.

Und den, vot you dinks ? Sooch a blace we did vinde ;
Midout drees, midout krass, und midout anyding ;
Und der vind plows before und der vind plows behind,
Und vistles and skreems like anyding.
Und vent you sits down you kits up quicker'n scat !
Und skratch yourself like mat ver der briklee bares sting.

My vrow cries, Schon, Schon, vot you dinks, hey ?
But I sit mit der drak till a scheneral gum
Und says dere's a goot blace mine frient for to stay
Till you pilds you a house, te un, te um, tum.
Den he prings us to vot he galls Hotel de Gumfurt,
Vere all der volks stay vot haint cot no home.

Den der scheneral vinks at mine vrow du, dree dimes,
Und says, look mit der mountains oop dere krand ;
Von of dese days ven you goes oop dere und glimbs,
Und sees de crate town of Kreeley vere it stand,
You'll dink vot a beeples, vot a koontry, und you
Von't dink vonce uv der briklee bares sticken in der sand.

Yaw ! so I stays mit mine vrow und mit Paul,
But mine vrow says Schon, you're a nix goot Schack ;
Und der vind plows in der spring und vind plows in der fall,
Und der krasshoppers sit mit der hind legs on der drack
Und say : 'Schon Schackhass und his frow
Geeps a vishing dey could co pack'."

## CHAPTER XXIII.

N. C. MEEKER'S CAREER FROM THE DEATH OF HORACE GREELEY UNTIL HIS OWN — HIS HARD LIFE DURING THREE FOLLOWING YEARS — EDITING THE "GREELEY TRIBUNE" — QUARREL WITH GENERAL CAMERON ABOUT POLITICS — THE DISAGREEMENT ALL AROUND OF THE MEMBERS OF THE LOCATING COMMITTEE — MEEKER AND WEST BOTH RUN AS DELEGATES FOR THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION AND BOTH DEFEATED — MR. MEEKER APPOINTED ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER FOR COLORADO TO THE CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION — APPOINTED TO THE WHITE RIVER INDIAN AGENCY, 1878 — HIS REASONS FOR ASKING THIS POST — HIS LETTERS TO "THE TRIBUNE" FROM THE AGENCY — MR. MEEKER'S ADHESION TO THE GREENBACK PARTY — HISTORY OF THIS PARTY IN GREELEY — JOS. MURRAY — HIS VISIT TO GREELEY AND LETTERS AFTER HIS RETURN — LAST LETTER — "BULLETS AND PLOWS."

WE will now sketch the career of Mr. Meeker from the death of his friend and helper, until his own some seven years after. For the three years following he had a hard life of it. These were the grasshopper years and he had undertaken to make a living for himself and family, by gardening and small fruit culture. These were disastrous occupations in those days. We have formerly quoted an article from his pen setting forth all the difficulties. Both his and the rival paper were simply starving, in a financial point of view. Messrs. Vickers & Painter, who had been induced to start *The Colorado Sun* soon bitterly regretted the step they had been led to take, for Meeker had the grit to hold on and fight it through, and his far more ably edited paper had no doubt double the circulation of theirs. Indeed *The Greeley Tribune* was a journal that even its enemies could not do long without. It was so intensely devoted to the best interests of the place, and so honestly and ably conducted that it commanded a hearing even from its opponents.

At the close of the summer of 1873 Mr. Meeker, not taking warning by the fate of his friend, entered politics and offered himself as a candidate for representative to the lower branch of the Territorial Legislature. He was defeated in getting the Republican nomination. As a party measure he ought to have known better than expect it. The fall before he had put at the head of his paper the Union Liberal Republican and Democratic ticket. But in spite of this, and the general ill-will his course had excited among the old settlers, he at least thought that he would have got the nomination but for his betrayal by his old friend and co-worker General Cameron. Long before this there had been a coldness and jealousy between them quite visible to all observers. But now there was an open rupture. In a long article in *The Tribune* for August 27th, 1873, headed "Politics in Greeley," Mr. Meeker attacks the General savagely. He accuses him of an old standing jealousy, of undermining him, and of poisoning the minds of the old settlers against him. He gives a history of the convention and Cameron's double dealing, and calls him a Judas. Cameron retorts as well as he can in the *Sun*. But on this arena he is no match for Meeker. The following from the Denver *Daily Times* shows how disinterested spectators at a distance viewed the contest:

"N. C. Meeker and General Cameron are discussing each other in the daily papers. The former having been defeated by the latter in a nomination for the legislature, proceeds to tell what he knows about the latter, accusing him of deceit, vaulting ambition, hypocrisy, etc., etc. General Cameron replies by accusing 'Father Meeker' of falsehood. Cameron is the smarter politician, but we doubt if he is entitled to greater consideration than Mr. Meeker. Cameron has spread himself over quite a large part of the Territory, but Mr. Meeker has given his energies to his own town. We have considered Meeker as the father of the place, and the one above all others who has given it the good name it bears after three years lease of life—which it bears not only in Colorado—but throughout the country."

The distinction here drawn is a just one, but it must be said that both disputants misrepresented the character of the other. Showing only the weaker or worse side, being blinded for the moment to the nobler features that each recognized in the other in their calmer less impassioned moods. But wounds were then inflicted which never healed over. They remained substantially enemies until one fell from the lists in quite another field of contest.

It may as well here be said that by this time there was a triangular dispute or disagreement carried on among the "Triumvirate" who located Union Colony and the town of Greeley. Meeker and West, who was then President of the Town Board, had during the latter part of 1871 a severe contest in the papers on the liquor question, the former accusing the latter of slackness and favoritism in administering the ordinances on that subject. Cameron and West had a dispute over the boundaries of lands of theirs which lay contiguous, and which erroneous wordings of the deeds gave to the parties other lands than were intended. The change was to the disadvantage of Flower & Cameron and to the advantage of Emerson & West. What lands were intended to be conveyed and understood to be conveyed was conspicuous, as both parties had been cultivating, as boundaries were understood, without any misunderstanding, until Mr. West discovered the advantage the wording of the deeds gave his firm. It may be said that the error in description arose from dividing eighty-acre tracts as if their greatest length was north and south, which is usual, but in this case it was reversed, or east and west. There was but one opinion on the part of the Colony Board, and that was that Flower & Cameron had all the equity of the case on their side. The writer was delegated by the Board to bring about a just settlement of the matter which we held to be for both parties to give up their deeds to the Colony and it to give the parties new ones properly describing the lands intended to be conveyed. Mr. West's refusal to do this was only excused by him on the ground that the two firms were now rivals in the banking business and it was a sort of bad faith on the part of Cameron to go into this on account of a previous private understanding. Dr. Emerson was east when this matter came up and nothing definite could be done until his return. When he did, he held that they would be justified in a business point of taking the advantage of rivals who had acted in bad faith. It was pointed out to him that the Colony had only to do with this one thing, and was bound to see that justice should be done if possible. The Doctor yielded the point and the deeds were made as intended at first.

It is only justice to Mr. West to say here that Flower & Cameron had the postoffice and also the drug business and that the latter had been Mr. West's last business in Chicago. West went into the banking business with Emerson & Buckingham and it is highly probable that Cameron had agreed, as West says he did, to leave them that business while he and his friends retained the postoffice, and were left, so far as West was concerned, undisturbed in the drug business.

It also ought to be said that in the matter of liquor selling Mr. West has proved himself as good a friend of prohibition as any reasonable man could be expected to be. During the last session of the legislature he drafted a bill with his own hand enabling colonial charters to be renewed. So that the liquor clause in the deeds could be enforced for another twenty years. He has done all his present feeble health will permit in seeing to it that the requisite number of shares of stock voted in favor of the renewal of the Colony's corporate life, and has seen his efforts crowned with success, as narrated elsewhere. However, at the time we are speaking of, there was reason on the part of

Mr. Meeker and the extreme temperance party to suspect that an old druggist was likely to sympathize with his guild, and treat delinquencies with a charity which amounted to weakness, and bore only the fruits of cruelty to the victims of intemperance.

Mr. Meeker was again a candidate for delegate to the constitutional convention. He failed to get a nomination on the Republican ticket but was put on the "People's" ticket. This was really a combination of Democrats and Liberal Republicans. There were three districts for Weld and Larimer counties. J. S. Wheeler and S. J. Plumb were on the People's ticket and were elected for the first district, Weld county; W. C. Stover, also on People's ticket, was elected for third district, Larimer county; but N. C. Meeker was defeated on the People's ticket, second district, Weld and Larimer counties, and A. K. Yont, Republican, elected. Had Mr. Meeker been on for Weld county alone, he would have been elected; but Larimer went nearly solid for Yont. The vote in Weld county was, for Yont 227; for Meeker 525, but Larimer gave nearly every vote for its own man. It may further be said that H. T. West was on the Republican ticket opposed to Wheeler and the vote stood 494 for Wheeler, 286 for West. Plumb was on both tickets and got the full vote, which was only 569 in his case. The real reason why Larimer county voted solid for Yont was that that county wanted to have a provision in the constitution fixing the site of the Agricultural College at Fort Collins, and it was well known that Mr. Meeker wanted it at Greeley. This provision was put in the constitution.

The result was that the colony had not a single man in the Constitutional convention and that two Republican counties only sent one out of the four delegates. This formation of a People's party was largely the work of Mr. Meeker, and kept up the hostility of the Republican party against him.

Mr. Meeker soon after this was honored by being chosen assistant commissioner for the state of Colorado to the Centennial Exposition. This honor he highly appreciated, although the pecuniary profits did but little in relieving his financial embarrassment. It, however, afforded him the opportunity of making the acquaintance of men of influence in procuring government appointments, and out of the chances in that line he unfortunately chose that of being appointed Indian agent.

It would be unjust to Mr. Meeker's fame to say that the only reason determining him to ask this place was pressing need of the money that was in it. He had for a long time cherished the belief that the Indian could be led to pursue an industrial life, and that this would be the salvation of the race. His letters to *The Tribune* from the White River Agency prove this, and also how bitterly he was disappointed in this hope. As the White River catastrophe brought sorrow to so many homes in Greeley and a general grief to the whole people, it seems fitting to make copious extracts from these letters which are also written in Mr. Meeker's happiest vein. It will be seen that he entered upon this new work with the enthusiasm of a man in the early vigor of manhood, although for him the sun was nearing the western verge.

"WHITE RIVER AGENCY, May 12, 1878.

"This place is about two hundred miles south of Rawlins on the Union Pacific, and at the mouth of a canon on White river. There are no settlements at all between here and Rawlins except on the Snake and Bear. At present everything is in the original natural state; the roads are only tracks over the most favorable ground, and from Bear river ours was the first wagon for nine months. Of course there are no bridges; when night comes the traveler sleeps on the ground, and in these days frost settles everywhere, and one who is at all feeble requires time to recover from the privations.

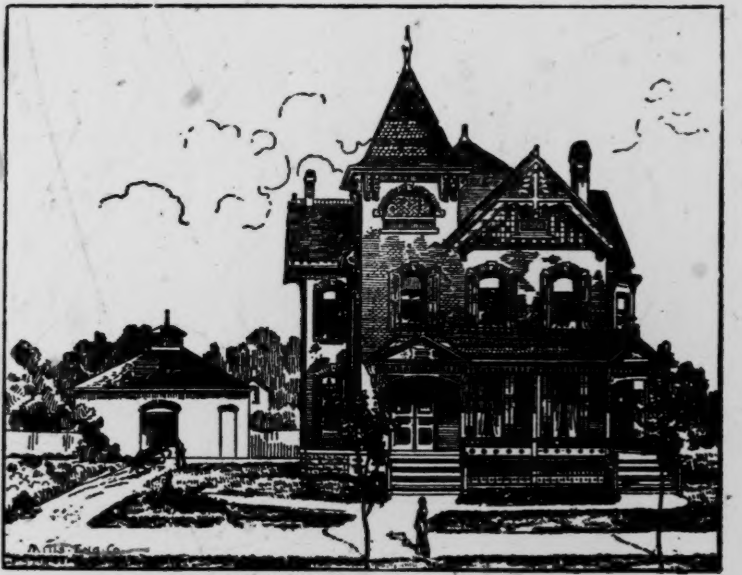
"In a place difficult of access, and to which the cost of all freight is from four to five cents a pound, only necessaries are to be had. Bedsteads are made by the carpenters, the chairs are stools, and fortunately there is not a looking glass on the ground. A man of varied experience in 'backwoods' life may think he knows something about primitive affairs, but he will learn a thing or two here. The mail comes once a week on Saturday, and goes out Monday morning by horseback, the whole six days being spent on the road. It looks as if in such a slow progress, the world with its stirring news would pass by and be forgotten."

He goes a fishing, catches as his first luck a trout weighing near two pounds.

"Spotted, wet, fresh, but oh, how he flopped! Scarcely afraid I took him in my hands, and tried to get the hook out of his mouth; it would not come, for it was deep in its flesh, and the blood ran out of its mouth. The only thing to do was to take my knife and cut out the hook; and while I did so, his prominent eyes looked pitiful on me, as much as to say—'How can you?' Alas, fish have been caught for ages, and even long ago in Lake Galilee; still I could not help saying to myself, 'There will be a settlement some of these times for all this cruelty.'

The next letter is headed "Lonely."

"Altogether there are six of us—one a lady, quiet and young, four


Mills Eng. Co.

RESIDENCE OF B. D. HARPER.

employes, one away most of the time, or perhaps two or three away; often during the day all gone. So the sun goes down over the mountains, covered with grass to the top, other mountains with cedar on the north, and one looks down the narrow valley which opens a little a mile or so to the north, looks along the wagon road where only one track has been made this year, as if some one were coming tired and ready for a warm supper, looks out through the gap in the range as if a four-horse team might be discovered in a hurry to make the five or six miles before dark, but not a soul is seen, nothing moves.

"If there were neighbors five miles away, or ten or twenty, it would be quite cheerful and one could ride over for a visit once a month, and receive one as often, but it is sixty-five miles to the nearest house, where, by the way, no family is now living, the woman having gone east because it was so lonely, though she had neighbors somewhere up the river; still she was so far away as to be out of the world. The lady here came two years ago; the one who left two weeks ago, had been here four years, and never been out once; but she got a fashion paper once a week, and how she felt when she reached the railroad nobody will probably ever know.

"Of course we have Indians; 'have them till you can't rest,' and there are plenty of people who think they would be happy if they could see Indians on their 'native heath,' see how they dress, how their clothes are put together, what they do when they get up in the morning, how long they wait for breakfast, and what they have to eat and how they eat it, how the insides of their dwellings look, what kind of society they have, and how they employ and enjoy themselves generally. Yes, it would be so interesting to know them, that is when you don't know them; but after you do know them and things are not as you think they might be, a change comes, it is lonely, so lonely; if it is a young lady, perhaps with a laddie, not unnaturally may she view the drawing in of night over the grand scenery, while the river roars like the ever moaning ocean, and she looks with misty eyes towards the vanishing gap in the range.

"It is but a little over two hundred miles straight to Greeley, a distance made by the cars, if we had them, in seven hours, but this letter say leaving here Monday morning will not reach you till Sunday afternoon. An answer cannot start till the next week. So that three weeks are required for a return letter from East Colorado. However it is only when we stop to think that loneliness appears, for we have enough to do to keep busy all day long."

June 17, 1878, he writes a very funny letter about Indian ladies, how they dress, how they pack the horses when they are going on a hunt, and how the men in general look on.

He came back to Greeley in July and returns with J. S. Titcomb to survey an irrigating ditch. Mrs. Meeker and Josephine had gone on a week ahead with W. S. Fullerton. He was not going to be lonely any more. Yet this was a great undertaking for a woman so frail as Mrs. Meeker. Josephine went to teach the young Indians if forsooth their parents could be induced to send. The most were too proud, and her school was mostly orphans. The Indians were afraid that education was one of the steps towards their degradation, of the white man, who has to work for a living. Of itself it required a certain application most irksome to the wild nature.

Mr. Meeker had been looking the ground over and had concluded to move the agency buildings some twenty miles lower down the river where he found some land suitable for cultivation, and for the irrigation of which he was going to take out a ditch. For all these things he needed some Greeley boys. Fullerton, besides being a farmer was also a stone mason and plasterer. Ed. Clark took through a party from here reaching the Agency August 6th. Titcomb reported that he found a good route for the ditch which was to be built two and a half miles long. The Greeley boys went to move the buildings and superintend the building of the ditch. Fullerton and he made a journey among the mountains to hunt coal, limestone, etc., about which there is a two-column letter in *The Tribune*. They made valuable mineral finds.

For *The Tribune* of September 25th he finds time to write an article on finance, and like all men of that date badly in debt, is favorable to the Greenback party then coming into prominence in Greeley, and embraced by some of our ablest and most earnest men. The talents, enthusiasm and fidelity of those who embraced this financial delusion in Greeley, gave it a life amongst us more vigorous and enduring than it had probably in any place of its size in the Union. *The Rocky Mountain Howitzer*, edited here by Mr. Messinger, was for a long time the organ of the party and it survived after the cause was dead nearly everywhere else in the state. At last it expired only about a year ago of sheer inanition.

Perhaps its ablest advocate here was A. J. Wilber who not only gave much time and ability to the cause, but did a thing most extraordinary for him in the support of any cause—gave $100 cash to carry on the campaign when his friend Jos. Murray was running for Congress on this ticket. Without doubt it was through his Greeley friends, especially A. J. Wilber, Captain Hogarty and Samuel Graham, that Mr. Murray was led to enter the ranks of which he soon became the leader. He had left Greeley in 1872 and from hence had his headquarters at Fort Collins, but he was always at heart more firmly connected with Greeley. He used to say after he became a widely known orator that he learned his art at our mass meetings and lyceums of the early days. He remained long with the party in all the Protean forms, and various names it assumed, but at last he became weary of dragging its dead carcass after him and went back to his early love and campaigned for Harrison and protection to the great scandal of a few who still languidly lingered in the Greenback ranks. He is now enjoying his reward as "King" of the Seal islands in Alaska, where he will have a chance to worry his old enemy, the British lion, in whose dominions he passed his pinched and suffering youth.

And here we must tell one anecdote which Mr. Murray tells of himself connected with our early history and the bad odor we had among the "heathen around about us." During the summer of 1871 he was engaged freighting to Colorado Springs, then building and growing as we had done the year before. When asked where he was from, unlike most of his countrymen, he said he was from "Ireland" that was so much more respectable than to hail from Greeley.

But to return to Mr. Meeker at the White River Agency. In *The Tribune* for October 2nd we have from him a three-column article on "Industry among the Indians." He shows how hard and poorly paid labor Indian hunting is and speaks of their "State Fairs," which is being interpreted "horse racing." Here are some of the finer traits he finds in the Indians. He is beginning to like them better but his love is not destined to be lasting.

"The women are modest, chaste, retiring and of course industrious. There are but two or three half-breed children here. The men love and protect their wives as much as civilized men. I think it true that the women have fully as much influence with the men as white women. They seem to be low-down and overworked, but this is only apparent. They are respected and loved, and when they get together and talk and complain, they are certain to bring an influence to bear on the men, and keep them up to a proper state of raspiness.

"The children are remarkably obedient, always doing as they are bid, and quickly too, and their parents have great affection for them. The whip is seldom or never used, and their obedience may be ascribed to this fact, or, possibly to their being bid to do only what will please them. Certainly the children are neither stubborn nor wilful.

"Indians delight in music, and they have 'concerts' at least twice a week. Recently they came up in full force and gave us a grand treat in the way of music and dancing. There is a drum standing on four legs with little flags above. Five or six sit around it, and with sticks covered with rags they strike the drum with a most regular beat, this being of two notes, one a little longer than the other. Then a dozen or more young men form a circle and dance by rising on their heels and toes alternately, and also on their knees and hips, while they bend forwards slightly and at the same time they sing the two notes of the drum—and they do not move from their tracks. When they get through they yelp like a coyote and sit down to rest. Women never dance, which may seem strange, but the reason why they do not is probably because they would like to, but sometimes they sing and pretty well, too. Once or twice they sang a short air that had real melody, but it did not last long, as might be expected. We took great pleasure in seeing the dance, because they showed equal progress in this with white people, and both feel that they can never be happier or more admired.

"Two young men have hired out to work on the farm, being paid fifteen dollars a month and board. It is necessary to treat them carefully, for fear they may explode and go off. Besides they are clothed in good garments, for with their blankets dragging around them, as if they were Jewish patriarchs, or Roman senators, they could do no work. Others will be hired as they can bear it, but great caution is required. It is the *fixed determination of the Indian department to refuse the rations and every kind of supplies unless they work.* (Italics ours). Accordingly a large breadth of land will be put in cultivation next year, and everything in shape so that they can work. It is the impression that when the time comes, and they are shown the shovel and the hoe and given to understand what they must do, the scene will be as well worth viewing as a grand circus; and the opinion has been expressed that it will be well to stand a little to one side."

From the above it will be seen that Mr. Meeker was only carrying out the instructions of the Interior Department in setting the Indians to work, and that he fully understood the delicacy and danger of the undertaking. To be sure he had entered on this mission with the full belief that the thing could be accomplished. In a later article he said that there were four main divisions of the Utes, and that one of them in Utah was agricultural and industrial, and there was no reason why the rest should not be if the thing was properly managed. But apprehending as he now did the dangers of the attempt at transforming the life of the Indian into an industrial one it is unfortunate that he did not insist on the government's sending troops earlier to enforce the new system before the Indians had become exasperated by a series of futile attempts. What the function of the army ought to be in this matter Mr. Meeker sets forth in a subsequent article reviewing a proposition then in Congress to turn the Indians over to the army. But we must here quote farther from this letter where it speaks of the Indian Johnson and his wife Susan, the latter having fully vindicated the high opinion that Mr. Meeker here records of her, when afterwards Mrs. Meeker and Josephine were captives in the hands of the Indians.

"Some of them planted potatoes last spring, and the one who is making most of them is Johnson, a considerable chief, and one who takes the lead in progress and enterprise. He is not given to politics at all—by the way, they have parties as well as anybody, but there is neither space nor desire to tell about them—and he devotes his energies to improving his domestic affairs. He has three cows from which he has milk, butter and cheese; and poultry and goats. A table has been made for him at which he and his eat; he has crockery, dishes, and if he had a house he would probably make things shine. Susan, Johnson's wife, is a good genius. She is a large, handsome woman, reminding one of that Boston lady, Louise Chandler Moulton; she has dignity and good sense, and she makes her husband do as she bids. Her dress is of the finest buckskin ornamented with elaborate fringes and bead-work, costing fully as much as a good silk dress.

"When Johnson dug his potatoes he hired his retainers, fifteen or twenty women and children, giving them about half a bushel a day for their work, and they made an interesting sight. He was busy among them to see that they did their work well, and he helped to sack. During much of the time he smoked cigarettes like a first-class business man, but once or twice he got tired and lay down on the ground, back up, and slept awhile, and was up and busy again. He wore a bottle green flannel shirt, buckskin leggings and moccasins, and a blanket strapped around his middle so as to form a sort of short petticoat. His plug hat was by the fence because he had work to do. His face was painted, first with crimson streaks on his forehead as brilliant as the rays of an autumnal setting sun, and then there was a band of bright yellow an inch wide, commencing at his left eyebrow, and apparently running across his eye, then running diagonally across his nose to the right corner of his mouth. On each cheek were three short, bright bands of red, yellow and blue.

"His crop of potatoes amounts to about forty bushels, of which he has sold half at the rate of two dollars a bushel cash. The yield has been first rate, though the area planted was small, and it looks as if next year a good many more will be planted. They like potatoes so well that they eat them raw, but they are so fastidious as to pare them.

"Johnson has his troubles like all great men and this in regard to one of his wives, whom he found it necessary to whip, but as to the cause let there be silence. You see Johnson is one of those men who lead from the savage to the barbaric life on the way to civilization. He is not quite as far advanced as Cedric, the Saxon, the master of Garth, in Scott's Ivanhoe, but he is probably equal to the best among the British chiefs who tried to withstand the invasion of Julius Cæsar."

The next article in *The Tribune* we shall consider is the one we spoke of above relating to turning the Indians over to the army.

"There is no subject more difficult or more perplexing than how best to treat the Indians, for the attempt that is all the time being made to civilize them and to remove them from the condition in which they are paupers to one in which they can be self-sustaining, has in a great degree failed. The question then is, really, whether the army will do any better, that is whether army officers have more qualities for carrying out civilization than civilians.

"If civilization is the main object it seems to me that army officers would have a great advantage in bringing the Indians into industrious habits, because they can use force, that is, if an Indian refused to plow, etc., a detachment of soldiers could bring him up to the field and set him at it. I judge that almost every other plan has failed, and as this is the only one left untried, this will succeed if anything can. It seems to me that by furnishing rations to the Indians they see no necessity for working, and as they do not know how to work they will not set about it. * * The army, if put in charge, could make them toe the mark, and those who know the Indians best would be glad to see it done.

"But work is not all that is required to civilize. There is the great subject of the social relations, involving religious instructions, education, habits of the family and household, all of these are connected with work, in fact they are all inseparable, and these the army must take hold of—must teach the women to live in houses, to cut garments, to sew, to make bread, wash dishes, clean, make butter, keep the children in order, and above all establish family discipline, but the idea of this is so absurd, being entirely out of the line of soldiers, that it looks as if the army must either enlarge its capabilities or confine itself simply to keeping the Indians alive, and let civilization alone.

"But leaving the domestic relations out of consideration, can the soldiers teach the Indians farming? Those who understand farming have spent years in learning it. Certainly army officers were never taught any kind of rural industry at West Point, and nobody supposes that officers or soldiers have any qualities, either theoretical or practical, by which they can teach anybody to farm. Probably there is not a single instance of the officers of any military post in this country raising any kind of food supplies or even forage, even though they have time and opportunity; and everything has been hauled to them vast distances and at enormous expense.

"Besides it is well known that wherever there is a military post there is a sutler's store where whisky can be had, and that a large per cent. of the soldiers will get drunk, for they are recruited as a general thing, from that class in the community which is without morals or enterprise or industry; hence the plan before Congress proposes that a body of men shall undertake to civilize, while they need to be civilized themselves."

Another important consideration which he mentions at length, is the social evils likely to arise from a large number of unmarried men of low morals being brought into close relations with Indian women. He concludes this important article thus:

"But it does look as if an army, or say regiment, might be got tgeether of really capable men, picked out here and there among farmers and mechanics, men of industry, of culture, and of honest religious convictions, who, after being thoroughly drilled and disciplined, would be able to solve the Indian question in the most satisfactory manner. But the same thing may be said of communism, for there is no difficulty in establishing a community of property in which every one shall have his rights, and a heaven on earth will be built up if you can pick out here and there the right kind of men. Alas, the men will not enlist."

The above explains why Mr. Meeker came back here to pick his men, young farmers and mechanics, out of good families, and if he had had enough of them and had had them well drilled and disciplined and armed and a good fort built, there would have been no massacre. Still, it would have been hard to hold these young men, and few of the right kind could have been induced to enlist for five years, a time none too long to bring forth any valuable or permanent results. But our boys had to work instead of drill, and no precaution seems to have been taken for self-defense in case of an outbreak. Had Mr. Meeker combined in himself the military character and ability with the civilian, he and our boys would not have been so helpless victims at the mercy of enraged savages. But it must be remembered that Mr. Meeker had no authority to do otherwise than he did, and he must not be blamed as if he were the autocrat of his little band of civilizers.

Ed. Clark came back to Greeley about the beginning of October by way of Middle Park, and took back with him Albert Woodbury the same way.

They started from Boulder on the 15th of October and were eight days on the road encountering severe snowstorms and blizzards, often sleeping out without shelter while the snow was falling. Albert Woodbury went out as blacksmith. Fullerton and his brother were about to engage in the stone mason business for the agency.

In *The Tribune* for December 11, 1878, we have from Mr. Meeker a most characteristic letter, and although it has nothing directly connected with this history, it is well worthy of preservation on account of its graphic portrayal of Indian customs and manners. It is headed "Woman, the Natural Savage."

After a long observation of the Indian life and character commenced years ago and latterly continued day after day and month after month, the conclusion has been reached that it is the woman who opposes every step made by the government towards civilization—that she is the master and that her husband is the slave. Perhaps the reader will come to the same conclusion from the following facts.

Then follows some speculations as to what was the compact between the man and his wife in primitive human society; but this original compact in which the man had his full share in the hardships of the human lot has been changed by the issue of government rations, largely relieving the man, while the woman has as laborious a life as before.

"Each day as the sun descends, she and her daughters come into the village from the timbered valleys loaded with firewood—the load weighing from twenty to one hundred pounds; she rises first in the morning, and builds the fire and prepares the breakfast, in some cases cooked better than many white women cook; as soon as this is over she is out in the sun stretching or dressing buckskin or buffalo hides, or stroking down beaver or otter skins, or cutting out garments, or sewing or ornamenting them with bead work or embroidery, often in a neat artistic manner, with symmetrically flowing lines, and except in rare cases she has no idle hours. The truth is, an Indian villiage is, so far as the women are concerned, as full of active industry as any factory village of New England. Meanwhile the men have nothing to do. The young men often lie sleeping as late as ten or eleven o'clock in the morning, and when they get up and stretch, possibly wash themselves, they go to the camp kettle for meat and to the frying pan or bake-kettle for bread, washing it down with weak coffee. After that they sit around in the shade or by the fire with their companions, smoking cigarettes and enjoying themselves fully as much as young men at Newport or Saratoga. If there is to be a dance they call on their mothers for their best clothes, consisting of all sorts of buckskins straps, leggings that barely reach the hips—adorned around the bottoms and along the sides with buckskin fringe more elaborate and complicated than the fringes of the finest lady in the world ; a blanket is strapped around the middle to cover the buff that of necessity would be exposed, and then comes a calico or flannel shirt, and perhaps over this a buckskin coat fringed to death. The mother's tailoring seems never to have aimed at making the leggings fit any part of the body above the hips. Accordingly a strip of buckskin, or of red flannel, three inches broad, and often two feet long, hangs down between the legs both behind and before, and the gift by the government of pantaloons does not help the matter, for these are worn only on rare occasions, or they are cut off so as to make leggings, the body part being thrown away, or converted to other uses, and therefore every Indian in full dress exposes the native buff on and around the hips, though never to such an extent as may be suspected.

"Now the women dress in every way modestly, consisting of a full gown, though there is always an opening of six or eight inches long under the arms, exposing the buff when the arm is raised, which is seldom—an arrangement apparently devised for nursing mothers. Said gown reaches to the ankles, while there are buckskin leggings, often combined with the moccasins—a garment extremely well suited for riding on horseback, man-fashion. A shirt is generally worn, but it is of the same fashion as a man's. Modesty and propriety of dress being so highly characteristic of the Indian woman, not the least attempt being made at showing off any of the bodily charms, it is certainly a matter of surprise, and even of speculation, that she should have adopted, and should keep up, the style of men's garments, leading to exposure, and also one would think to great discomfort on account of cold. But it is true that nothing is more difficult than reform in this respect.

"When weekly rations are issued by the government, at the agency, all the women come in riding on horseback, and after the cross for a signature is made they seize the supplies with eagerness, getting all they can, and if a mistake is ever made in their favor they will hide it if possible. Such a thing as being honest with the agent never enters their heads. They pack the flour, sugar, etc., on their horses in an expeditious and workmanlike manner, while the men dressed in all the finery they possess, particularly the young men, sit around on their horses, admiring and passive spectators, nor have I ever, except in extreme emergency, seen a man assist a woman to load her horse, or help her in any of her labors. The consequence and outcome of this is that the Indian women are as active, as energetic and as keen and observing as a human being can well become. Her muscles are solid and wiry, her body is strung together as firmly and as harmoniously as a newly tuned piano. Whatever she has learned she is perfect in; she has no doubts, no hesitation; and whatever work she has in hand is performed with the energy and enthusiasm of a nimble mechanic working by the job with the expectation of making ten dollars a day. Thus it is that the mind of the Indian woman is the master mind, and there is no greater mistake than that which seems deeply rooted, that she is the slave and her husband the master, for the contrary is the truth. She being the worker is the master, the same as it is the world over, and in all conditions and ages—the true worker being the master whatever may be the outward appearances. * * * *

"This matter requires some deeper investigation, so do you try to carry out any measure with the Indian men, except by a power back of you, or in you, without consulting the Indian woman, and see how you will come out; or even consult the women and you will find them immovable. The case is this. They know as if by instinct, that the worker is the master, and they are utterly opposed to the men working, and utterly opposed to any change in any respect that shall tend to an abridgment of their power. The Indian man is their subject, their necessary instrument. He can hunt for them, he can defend them and their children the same as a dog, and he is allowed to; and his wishes are consulted, for here come in love and affection always and everywhere most powerful; but when he proposes to share her labors, in other words to divide her throne, she rebels—in fact he dare not make the attempt. We have had plenty instances of this in young men induced to work and wear white men's clothes—since it is folly to undertake any kind of work in the garments of a Roman senator—and the result being that they go back in a short time to their buckskin and leggings, for they cannot stand the jibes and sneers and ridicule of the women; for say what we may, every man is controlled by the opinion of at least one woman. It is only by tremendous pressure and power that the women will consent to have their children go to school—in fact they never do consent, and the only pupils are motherless children whom no one will care for; yet even of these the great majority are cared for, rather than let them fall into the hands of a white teacher, and be dressed in nice clean clothes and eat with a knife and fork. Several young men or large boys attended school one winter and learned to read and write a little, and they became quite a show; but they would neither cut wood for their own fires, nor bring water to drink, and the white employes did it, and one of them learned so much of the blacksmith's trade as to forge a key with which the gang entered the store-room and stole several dozen canned fruit and helped themselves to cakes and pies. Long ago they went back to the tribe, and to this day they laugh at the education they acquired.

"Deeper observation leads to the heart and core of the great difficulty that lies in the way of Indian civilization, and indeed of all human progress, and this is the blind tenderness which the mother feels for her children. An Indian child, or at least boy, must never be whipped—the mother can't stand it, and she will not. It is true she herself will knock the youngsters around, and she can scold "till all is blue;" probably she swears, but when the father takes a boy in hand to make him perform any service out of prescribed or long established custom, which of course, must be approved by the woman—there is trouble in the camp. Thus what we know as discipline or training cannot exist among the Indians, the mother's blind tenderness forbids; and so one has a condition in which the maternal instinct, short-sighted and foolish, is united with energy and force that is derived from unremitted labor, and this in the woman becomes the master, while effeminacy, affection and idleness combine to make the man in all things regarding progress and elevation a slave. Therefore, woman, in the Indian social state, is the natural savage."

Then we have more about "Johnson," some of which is a repetition of what we have had before. He says that he is studying his character, and thinks that he is on the way to independence or rather to emancipation. "And the last proof of this, shocking as it may seem, is that he has whipped one of his wives, and when she ran away with another man and finally for some reason came back, he whipped her again, and now all is peace. Whether such a man can, during his life, become truly civilized, is extremely doubtful, because he is fond of painting his face in all the gorgeous colors of the setting sun; he disdains trousers, and his appetite is so enormous he wants a dozen meals a day. A good-sized potato makes only a mouthful, biscuit ditto. He runs horses twenty times a day, and he is still afraid to send his children to school. But he has the true grit of a business and progressive man, for besides being a practicing physician, putting money and buckskin in his pocket, he has raised a fine lot of potatoes. He has perhaps a hundred horses well cared for, and he intends to go ahead.

"So standing as if among ancient Britons, or the Germans, who, as Tacitus relates, were subject to their women, one cannot help seeing that the only road from the savage to the civilized state is first by the elevation and emancipation of the men, making them in some respects equal, and in others superior to the women, by reason of assuming new duties and labors, the two sexes working in harmony. The greatest progress in this direction has been defined as civilization. But there remains a vast field of operation in which the woman and the man shall engage yet more seriously, energetically and harmoniously together seeking a common happiness and destiny. This social condition is for the future.

"Finally it is to be said that extensive plans are in operation to change all this into the hopes that the Indian may become self-reliant and self-sustaining. If success shall follow, you shall have accounts of the same in due season, but if failure ensues nothing need be said, as when a ship is lost at sea no word comes any more."

Here we see plainly that Mr. Meeker understood quite well the nature of the arduous task that he was undertaking, and that his foreboding of disaster was stronger than his hope of success. In less than a year his bark with himself and nearly all the crew went down in tempest and raging waves. His whole reasoning on the matter went to teach him that races can only be civilized slowly, but he had a hope that a beginning could be made—a foundation laid upon which others might build.

He writes for *The Tribune* again, November 28, 1878, from the agency:

"Meanwhile about twenty-five Indians, with Douglas, the chief of the tribe, at their head, have been engaged now five weeks in digging the irrigating canal. They have completed about a mile six to ten feet wide, and the work is as neatly done as you ever saw. It would make quite a history to tell how a commencement was made on them to get them to work; they never having worked before, how they despised the notion, how they wanted no land, and, as the boy says, "no nothing." But finally they came around, proper inducements being presented, and they have worked steadily and well. U. M. Curtis, well known in this region and about Denver, a first-rate interpreter, was largely instrumental in getting them in this frame of mind, and now they want land to work next year, and have horses and wagons and harness, and they mean to raise watermelons as big as they can lift, all of which is as fine as can be, and it is to be hoped that they will hold out faithful to the end.

"All the Greeley boys are well. They have built themselves a good big house, of which they are masters and mistresses. Clark and Dresser are up the river starting a lumber camp, preparatory to a big drive next spring. Fullerton Brothers are a little in the stone-mason line. Mansfield and Dunbaugh are building bridges and roads, and the new blacksmith, Woodbury, holds the institution together with his expert iron work, being liked by the Indians as a pleasant young man and a quick workman on guns and such." All of which shows what good work the Greeley boys were doing, and how soon they would have transformed everything, and what a fine beginning was being made on the road to the new order of things.

A week later we have the winding up of the season's work in these graphic words:

"After long arguments and explanations with one party of these Indians, they finally agreed to go to work on the irrigating canal at fifteen dollars a month and double rations.

"When this was accomplished the other party raised a howl; they declared that the money to be paid was theirs anyhow; that white men were the ones to do the job, and that it was beneath the dignity of an Indian to work, nor did the treaty call for any such thing; and now if that other party was going to work, they would be disgraced forever in the eyes of the rest, particularly in the eyes of all the females. So the plan failed—there seemed no chance to do a thing; but upon the advice of Mr. Curtis, Sowerick, a chief, who was the head of this opposition, was sent for and he came—grand as the King of the Isles. Then Sowerick was told by the agent what he had been doing, and that the Commissioner would be written to, showing up his conduct, and that if any more opposition was had from him there would be trouble—lots of it.

"Upon this Sowerick wilted; he said they might go to work and he would not object in any manner. Another chief, Jack, belonging to the same party, and equally violent, kept out of the way meanwhile, but soon came around and said if the Commissioner would write him a letter, telling him to dig the ditch, he would put on his band and do it. He was told the season was so late no letter could be had. Then he said he must have some of the money, but he was assured that he would not have a nickel unless he worked. So he pulled out and went to Bear river, where he has been camping ever since. Sowerick went twenty miles down the river with his wife, lodge, and ninety horses, and when he came back to the agency he went around to where the Indians were to work, and never once showed himself. So these two chiefs were bluffed off, instead of their bluffing others, as has been their practice. For whenever a poor little Indian attempted to work they would shame him out of it, and not one could be got to do any kind of work for love or money.

"The other party having Douglas, the chief of the whole tribe, at their head went to work, being twenty-five in number. A regular boarding house, in a tent, was established and, as the weather was favorable, they worked every day—moderately at first, then faithfully, and as they continually made progress and could see what they were doing, they became encouraged and held out faithfully to the end—which means frozen ground. The cook was Mary, the wife of one of the workers who got as much pay as any of the rest, and she is quite a fair workman. They had plenty of beef which was cooked in a large camp kettle; they had potatoes, dried apples, and coffee, and some of the time butter. When they eat, tin plates are in a circle on the ground, and the company sits down to enjoy their food earned by the sweat of their brow.

"All this time Curtis encouraged them, he ate with them and had his tent among them where he slept, and in work he was with them all the day long. He had made a triangular frame of two-by-eight joist, fourteen feet long, set on edge, and six feet wide at the base, and when the oxen plowed four furrows, his machine came after, and threw out the dirt, leaving after two rounds quite a little ditch. Then the Indians took hold with their shovels, and a little more plowing was done and the Indians shoveled, and soon a ditch six feet wide and fifteen inches deep was made rapidly. But then came deep cuts where the machine could not be used, and hard ground like cement, where only the mattock and pickax could make impression, and boulder beds that had to be patiently mined so to speak. So that in digging a ditch of any extent of average ground it is as hard work as in traveling the road to wealth or felicity. But these Indians were faithful, though their arms and back grew lame, and they got colds from being sweaty and then resting, and probably sleeping soundly at night without waking to get more covering. On the 28th of November they finished 5,400 feet of as nice a looking ditch as was ever made—when the water was let in along the whole line, pouring out at the end in a beautiful stream, all correct, thanks to Titcomb, the engineer. Well, now these Indians are proud, for they know what it all means, and they are going to have farms next year, and to raise corn and oats, and to have wagons and harness, so that clearly enough the (work) party has gained a great victory."

So hopefully ends the year and the first experiment a great success. There is but little doubt that things would have gone on satisfactorily had it not been for the pride of the Indian noblemen—the chiefs—as we shall see, and perhaps we may add the women who are as conservative of ancient customs as are the privileged class.

Mr. Meeker finds time during the winter to discuss the mysteries of money where we will not follow him, but we hear a hopeful account of his wards in his article in *The Tribune* for April 16, 1879. It is headed "Will the Indians Work?"

It starts out with the way in which Indians bury their dead, which is here and there, wherever they happen to die—there being no graveyards and no thought of the burying place afterwards. Then we have an attack on the sentimental writers about Indian affairs, Cooper & Co. "I wish these sentimental scribblers could live a few months among genuine Indians, and by the time they got covered with lice and fleas and have seen how the finest land under the sun is held in contempt for the purpose for which it was made, they would get new notions.

"And yet after all, it is actually strange that there are so many things in common between the Indians and fashionable people, for both think labor a disgrace, both pass their days in frivolous amusements, both dearly love horse-racing, dancing, and discordant music, and both live on the labor of other people. But this parallel ceases when you throw a fashionable family on its own resources—make them poor as people well can be, and ten to one but their children will meet the reverse with fortitude, and go out manfully into the world making their fortune, which they are quite likely to do, and be all the better for it. This is because they are the genuine heirs and successors of a long line of working families; they are filled with vital force and nervous energy, and cannot die for generations, perhaps for centuries to come. But the Indian has no such qualities; and now because he has not, the sentimentalists of the East declare that he is robbed of his lands and that his fathers' graves are desecrated. By the way, I should like to know where are the lands that belonged to my forefathers, and why they should not be given up to the rightful heir.

"Millions on millions of money have been spent in clothing and feeding the Indian and only faint efforts have been made in making him self-supporting. * *

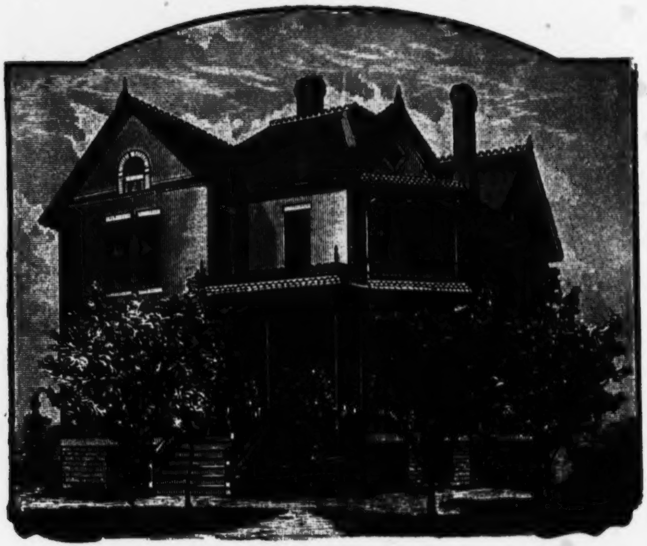
"All this is a solemn and awful truth, and if we had congressmen and rulers who would investigate as they should there would be a different story to tell about Indian civilization. Some may think this opinion a wild one, but let us have solid facts. There are four agencies where the Utes are cared for—three in Colorado and one in Utah. At the three former the Indians have never done any work, no land has been put in cultivation, in fact no progress has been made; but at Uintah, the greater portion of the Indians have farms, they have plenty of all kinds of grain and vegetables, and they may be said to be entirely self-supporting. It is true they are backward in education and they will be till, having settled down as a working people, they come to understand that knowledge is power. At any rate there is a vast difference between them and other Utes, and to-day, flour, oats, corn, chickens and eggs can be bought of them fully as cheap as these articles can be bought in Central Illinois. Of course the agent they had went to work and drove the fashionable nonsense out of them about labor being disgraceful.

"A great mistake was made at an early day, in supposing the Indians capable of civilization equally with the whites, and only in isolated cases has it been corrected. Early New England settlers took the ground that the Indians were a species of devils, and the first thing to do was to convert him and make a Christian of him. My maternal ancestor, John Elliott, called the Indian apostle, translated the New Testament into the Narragansett tongue, and probably no Indian ever read a chapter of it, but he worked faithfully in this direction while so totally ignorant of common affairs that one time his wife asked whose cows those were in the road, to which he answered he did not know; so she told him that they were his own.

"Farther, it is a fact that Harvard University was founded for the especial purpose of educating Indians for the ministry, and when only one graduated and he died of consumption shortly after, and the rest died of the same disease before graduating, the plan was given up. The proper course to pursue was to teach them to engage in common industries, and then a basis would have been laid for their education and improvement; for it is only upon rural life and its duties and cares that civilization and christianity can rest, and if I were going to start a new religion I would make this the first article of the creed."

He then gives his experience in working the Indians, already related, and adds:

"Treated as if they were children, for they are little more, and entirely dropping the notion of their awful poetic character, and the sacredness of the land of their fathers; in short, coming down to the common sense of things, and in a few years they are bound to become



RESIDENCE OF ROBT. HALE.

as decent human beings as the average of us. But if an agent comes out with the idea that he is to have charge of a company of cherubs who are too good to earn their living in the way laid out before the foundation of the world, and that all he has to do is to hand out government gifts and draw his pay once a quarter, he will come to the conclusion that the Indian won't work, that his native wildness never can be got out of him, and that the best thing to do is to let him be gradually crowded out and become extinct."

With the knowledge of what followed, it is easy to say that Mr. Meeker was crowing before he got out of the woods, and that instead of being making, as he thought, a bee line for the open country, he was only gliding around in a delusive circle. But on the whole was he not reasoning soundly from the data before him? Was he not forecasting the future as well as it is given man to judge of the actions of men in advance, since these are so capricious and incalculable? Much had been accomplished by the small force at Mr. Meeker's disposal. Twenty miles of wagon road had been built over a most difficult mountain route, where blasting had frequently to be done, from the old agency to the site of the new. Some 100,000 feet of lumber were in the log, cut in the winter and ready to be floated when the river should rise. Coal had been discovered near, and a bank opened up and worked and all things seemed most promising, but in a short time trouble begins. From a letter dated April 21st, published in *The Tribune*, we quote:

"We have an eighty-acre field fenced in, and somehow Douglas, the chief, got the idea that it was his field, and accordingly he began to direct what was to be planted, when it was to be done, and who was to have the crops. When the adverse or democrat party of the Indians saw how proud he was of his possession, they told him he did not own a foot of it, and that he was making a fool of himself. Then he wanted to know of the agent whose field it was, and was told that it belonged to the government and was for the benefit of the Utes, one as much as another. Then he got mad and told his retainers not to work any more. Some fifteen or twenty had been at work pretty steadily at fifty cents a day and extra rations, but they all knocked off and would not do another lick. Still Douglas came around every day, and one day he made a great speech; he was a poor man now, he would go off hunting and they would all live as before—long time ago. 'Well, go,' said the agent, 'but you'll get no more money, no more extra rations, and Jack, another big chief, will come in and take your place.' This staggered him, but he was altogether too mad, and his retainers sat around on the floor, looking from him to the agent as if these were sorrowful days. Then those who had shoes given them because they worked, pulled them off and threw them in a heap on the floor, when they all went off in savage grandeur. The agent thought they would be more consistent if they had left the blankets and other goods they got from the government.

"A night or two after they had a grand council to see what was to be done, for their grievance was not to be borne. On this occasion Johnson, who has frequently been mentioned in this correspondence, made them a speech which he afterwards related to Clark, and was as follows: 'What is the matter, where you get flour, where you get sugar, where you get blankets? Me no mad; me see all these things, me knows a heap—who makes guns, who fixes them, who makes wagons, where will these things come from? And you heap mad, mad all time. What's the matter, me no mad, me like 'em heap; and now you go travel all the time and hunt in the mountains deer, and elk, and Jack come—you see.'

"At the conclusion of this conference Douglas went around to all the tents, where the women were grumbling, and called out to each wife as Jane 'Want no talk,' so every one was bidden to shut up. The next thing, of course, was to be reconciled at headquarters, so the next morning he came down to the agent's house and sat down in a chair; previously he sat on the floor, which was a sign he was coming round; and the agent took a paper and went to reading, while Douglas sat still. At last the question was asked: 'What you say Douglas?' He was ready to talk, and the sum of it was, they were all ready to go to work, but no grievance was redressed nor was any complained of. This strike lasted just a week, and when night came, there was joyful shouting in the tents up and down the river, for gentle peace had come once more, that is they were going to have extra rations of sugar, coffee and beef. And this was not the first strike, for they had been made several times before, but this time they were going to do something big, that is, get that eighty-acre lot in full control; however, they are likely now to keep a strict watch over sugar and coffee whatever becomes of the land.

"There is a vast sight more to this, and it can only be hinted at. This eighty-acre field has been plowed and fenced under great disadvantages, and after many delays and as might be expected, for it takes a vast sight of work to bring new, raw land into cultivation, particularly when a host of other things have to be done. But this is only a commencement, and what is now more needed than anything else is allotments of land, little farms for each family, with a house thereon, and as these have been promised, and they do not come, the Indians are impatient, not having the least idea what is to be done, and it is impossible to explain why there is delay. In fact it often seems that the more one tries to tell, the less they understand.

"These few things may, perhaps, give the reader a faint idea of the vast amount of labor, and care, and bother, and vexation, our ancestors underwent in progressing from the savage to the civilized state. The thousands of objects of utility, comfort, convenience and elegance surrounding us, were obtained only after a time, overcoming immense difficulties, and with the exercise of great patience, and it may be added with some profanity, for while these Indians are breaking cows to milk they use English words they have heard before under similar circumstances."

The next and last letter to *The Tribune*, before he made his final visit to Greeley, is headed "Jane." She, when a girl, had been raised in the family of Judge Carter, had some education, spoke good English, but for all this, when she was grown she joined her tribe, the White River Utes, and was married to an Indian named Parviets. Mr. Meeker says he was something of a dandy and was in repute as a retailer of his wife's gossip which she, from her knowledge of English, was able to gather by overhearing the conversation of the employes, some of whom were quite free to tell her everything she wished to know, and to add their most *decided opinions as to the ability of the agent*, and as to what was likely to take place; but now that these have emigrated to other shores, Jane's sources of information have dried up on her and her husband's position as reporter has dwindled away."

Jane had generally been petted at the agency. Before Mr. Meeker came the other agent had given her the garden which had been planted to a variety of vegetables. She went off with the other Indians on their usual summer hunt, and left Mr. Meeker to weed it and carry water in a pail to keep it alive. When she returned she took possession, merely thanking him for his kindness. He asked what was to be his reward for taking care of it. She said she would give him some beets, which she did on three occasions, three at a time, while she had more than ten bushels. She also had a fine crop of potatoes, which she sold the agent at three cents a pound. So in the spring Mr. Meeker thought it were better to have an interview with her before the Indians went off on their hunt, and which he reports as about as follows:

"Now Jane, as you are going to plant potatoes and have a garden, and some ten or fifteen other Indians, it is to be understood that last year's and all the other years' style of farming is 'played out.'

"'Played out? How so?' says Jane.

"Well, I'll tell you. After the things are planted, it will not do for you to run off and leave me and the other white men to plow, hoe and pull weeds; you or some of your family must stay here all three moons and work your crops, for no one will touch them, and in that case you will have nothing; or they will be given to some other Indian to work and he will have all.

"'You say we must stay three moons. What for? Hoeing the things once is enough.'

"You must hoe them three or four times, and must keep watch of them all of the time; nobody will do it for you, and you need not undertake to tell me how the work is to be done.

"'But we never done so before and we had heaps.'

"But I tell you the thing is 'played out.' If you get anything you must work for it. Do you understand?

"'What is the reason white men cannot do all this work as before, as they used to? They understand it, we don't.'

"I tell you it won't do. Now I worked your garden last year; I carried hundreds of pails of water, and you had a nice garden and got lots of money; but this year we have a big ditch and plenty of water, and you must attend to things yourself, and all the other Indians. You must tell them what I say, so that they can understand and not go off.

"'But. Mr. Meeker, aint you paid for working?'

"No, not to work for you,

"'Well what are you paid money for if not to work for us?'

"Yes, I see how it is, but I'll tell you. I am paid to show you how to work and to help you.

"'Yes, but the Utes have a heap of money. What is it for if it is not to have work done for us?'

"I'll tell you, Jane. This money is to hire me and all the rest of us to teach you to help yourselves, so that you can be like white folks, and get rich as they are rich by work. You are not to be waited upon like children, and to be supported in idleness all your lives. You have got to take hold and support yourselves or you will have trouble, and you tell all the Indians this.

"'Ain't all these cattle ours and all this land? Isn't it all Utes' country to do as we like and have it always?'

"The cattle may be, but the country is not.

"'Well, whose land is it, and whose is the money?'

"The land belongs to the government and is for your use, if you use it; but if you won't use it and won't work, and if you expect white men to raise potatoes and onions and beets for you, white men away off will come in and by and by you will have nothing. This thing can't go on forever. As to money it is to be used to make you helpful, and it is time you turn to and take care of yourselves, and have houses and stoves and chairs and bedsteads and crockery, and heaps of things. Do you understand?

"'Yes, I understand; but you cannot tell, Mr. Meeker, how bad you make me feel to talk that way. Nobody ever done so before.'

"I can't help it, it is the truth, and the sooner you all come to act on it the better. I will help you all I can, and show you in everything, let you have plows and harness and hoes and seed, and everything you need, but you must take hold and help yourselves, all the same as white folks, and there is no reason you may not have everything you want and become rich.

"So Jane went away sorrowful, for she thought she had great possessions in the agency people being obliged to work for her and her people to the end of time. The result was that after long talks with Douglas and others they agreed to attend to their crops, and they have done so; some one at least of a family staying, *but it is clear they have been driven into it by a force that may be compared to galvanic shocks*, while as to anything like what may be called *conviction*, or abiding care, which includes foresight and activity, they feel the least possible. To get them to work and continue at it is much like getting a spring-poor calf on its feet; there is certainly some vitality in him, and if he is raised carefully, and his legs properly spread he is likely to stand, and he may walk in a straggling way, and possibly pick a little grass, but there is all the time danger that he will, after swaying to and fro, give a headlong plunge and lie with his quivering feet in the air. To ordinary apprehension the notion that farmers even half resolute can be made out of such fellows seems ridiculous; *still it is precisely what the government demands shall be done* and one can *try and make the best of it that can be made.* (Italics ours).

"Jane is of medium height, weighs a little above the average, has a broad face painted in red and green spots like eyes, with a fairly organized head, rather slow in her movements, economical in the use of things she gets hold of, and has one child, a girl eight years old, which she loves. Whatever she has she holds on to with a terrible grip; if she has anything to sell she wants the biggest price she can get; for instance, her potatoes are three dollars a sack, if a sack is divided and put into two sacks the price of each is still three dollars. Nor will the Indians in general lightly part with anything they get from the whites, or which they think they need, while as to giving anything of the kind to each other they are as mean as cats; in fact civilization seems to arise first in the possession of property, and in holding on to it with all the tenacity and meanness that can be conceived. I know that all this (speculation) does not amount to much, and that the reader wants to know what is the prospect of civilizing the Indian. To this the answer is, that after an experience of several years a conclusion may be reached, but at present no opinion is offered.

So Mr. Meeker has become wiser, less sanguine, begins to see the nature of the task he is undertaking, and what is more important sees that the policy of the government, which we have marked in italics above, is driving him into too hasty an attempt at transformation. That the above statement is the true attitude of the government there can be no doubt, as it was made by a servant of the government in a public newspaper of which he was editor. So it will not do to lay the blame wholly upon Mr. Meeker of forcing rashly the industrial life upon the Indians under his charge. It would appear, however, that in the interview with Jane, his position was too plainly unmasked, and that the Indian had placed before him the alternative of working or having his supplies cut off, and he was right in regarding this as a violation of treaties. It is true there is no distinct statement made above, that the usual and stipulated supplies will be taken away as punishment, if the Indians refuse to work; but there are rewards for the workers, which the Indian thinks belongs to him as a ward of the government and as flowing out of his treaty with it of which he has the vaguest kind of a comprehension.

All summer the Indians keep brooding over this state of affairs, and when Mr. Meeker returns from his visit to Greeley, related elsewhere, they are ripe for revolt. Before leaving, Mr. Meeker saw the storm that was brewing, and in a conversation with the writer plainly said that he had no longer any hope of making the Indian work by coaxing. He needed troops to enforce his orders and prevent an outbreak. He saw General Pope at Denver, then in command of the department, his wife tells me, and told the General that he thought it no use making farther attempts at civilizing, and said he was going to resign. The General advised him to persevere. It would seem that Mr. Meeker should not have returned until he had the troops with him. But while this would have saved himself, there is no reason to believe that it would have prevented an outbreak, and his wife and daughter and the white employes would have been treated as they afterwards were. But he never thought the Indians intended going to the extremes they did, thinking that they would see the absurdity of it. If the troops had not attempted to go in, Mr. Meeker would only have had to yield to the Indians for the time being, and when the troubles had quieted down the troops might have been brought in without a fight, and if they had, there is no ground for doubt that Mr. Meeker would at length have accomplished his task and would now be living and enjoying the reputation of not only being the founder of an industrious and prosperous colony of white men in Colorado, but also the reformer of the social and industrial customs and habits of an Indian tribe.

Still it may well be doubted whether Mr. Meeker was by his character, and above all by his manners, the best man possible to undertake a work of this kind. We all know, even those who knew and loved him most, that he had a curt, brusque, impatient manner that was very repellent to strangers. He easily saw the childish nature of the Indian, but he took the compulsive rather than the coaxing way of getting him along. He should have known that while mentally a child, physically he was a man, and that it is not safe for the parent to undertake to drive an idiotic, physical giant of a grown-up son. Such a man as General Adams, who procured the restoration of the captive women would be much more likely to succeed in such an undertaking, if it were worth while doing. It seems to me best for the future of humanity on this continent that the Indian should perish as a race. Let his departure be as gentle as the nature of the case will permit, and "by some sweet oblivious antidote" let him softly sink into the bosom of the eternal silence that nature prepares for races as for individuals, that are unable to adapt themselves to a change of environment. Not a few would be glad to see the future promising a like solution for the difficulties that beset us in contiguity with the negro race. It was believed that his enfranchisement would soon bring about his extinction. On the contrary his great and unrestrained reproductive capacities and propensities now threaten a growth that will in no long time overshadow and crowd out the white race. Strange if this should be the ultimate destiny of this continent! Be that as it may, in the struggle for existence on the face of this globe few things tell so powerfully for the success of a race of organisms as capacity and tendency to prolific reproduction. While, therefore, we should be the reverse of Nature, kindly and careful to the *individuals* of an inferior race, we should at least take no pains for the perpetuity of the race itself. The white race—for that matter the Teutonic family of that race—in no long time will be able to populate this continent—or the whole habitable globe, if it pleases better, as closely as convenient. But if the negro race prove the fitter, where will the loss be? But the fitter does not always mean the higher. It only means the one best adapted to the environment, regardless of human standards of abstract excellence. The two forces that now seem pitted against each other are superior intelligence on the part of the whites, and superior fecundity on the part of the negroes, and there is no telling which force will prove the master in the long run. A third factor will have much, perhaps all, in determining the outcome, physical degeneracy, the fruit of intemperance in its broadest significance.

In going back Mr Meeker met with a bad accident. The wagon upset and he was badly bruised. "The shoulder," he writes, "is never likely to get quite well, or will the arm ever be as sound as before: perhaps it will remain an idle one." The letter, in which he so vividly relates this journey and his situation and suffering from the time of the wreck two hours before sundown, till the middle of the night when the driver and Ed. Mansfield reached him, is headed "Almost There." It is among the best he has written; and one feels that it was so sad that a man of his years and physical frailty should find it necessary to face such hardships, privations and dangers in order to extricate himself and family from the financial bog they for years were mired in, as a consequence of the sacrifices he had made in establishing the colony. We have not room to quote more than the two opening sentences which, in the light of coming events have a mournful significance.

"The pleasant part of life is when we are conscious we have nearly reached a desirable object. But often as we pass through life, we are taught by experience that little is enjoyed beyond being almost there; for accidents and obstacles arise, and when the object is finally reached, it is things that are adverse that most strongly impress the mind." He got back about the middle of August and the next is dated September 8th,—and with the ominous heading, "Bullets and Plows."

A tract of some two hundred acres near the new agency buildings and under the ditch, was about to be fenced and plowed as had been contemplated, but Jane and Subchief Antelope objected, claiming the land as pasture for their horses. Jane's husband, contrary to orders, having lately put a corral on part of it. It was so handy for Jane who wanted to hang around the agency gathering gossip, as we have seen.

"The claim that Jane and Antelope made was that this is Ute's country; and that they had fixed themselves and did not want to move, for grass was good, and they wanted it all the while for their horses. Besides they said the Utes did not want any more land plowed, there was enough now, and they wanted to live as they always had lived. Jane was told that there was plenty of land just as good, that the employes would move everything without trouble to her; she was further told that if the buildings were moved again she would be sure to follow and claim close by, and so the agent would have no chance to plow at all. She said he might plow off in another place, and she indicated as Douglas and others did afterwards, that a certain tract, covered with grease wood, cut up with sloughs, and white with alkali was good to plow, though it would take three months to clear the surface. She would listen to nothing; that piece of land was to be theirs, and they would not have it plowed, for they had taken it, like the case when Greeley was first settled, when certain men wanted to have their 160 acres next to the town center.

"The plows were ordered to run, but before a single round had been plowed there came two Indians with guns and forbade the plowing. When the plowman came back and reported to the agent, he told him to go ahead. And so the sulky breaker went ahead for an hour or so, but soon the plowman reported that he was shot at from a little bunch of sage brush, where two Indians were seen lying, and the ball whistled close to his person. Of course the plow was ordered stopped and the team turned out. Then Douglas was sent for but he would do nothing. This was Ute's country and they wanted it for their horses.

"Jack was sent for and council was held and it was decided that the agent might plow the bed plowed around, but no more—which was foolish, as it was a long narrow strip, which it would be absurd to fence. It was at last conceded that all might be plowed; but the plow had scarcely been well started when Antelope and Jane's husband came out and threatened vengeance, and another retreat had to be made. The agent remarked to George Eaton, 'This is getting rather interesting.' To which he replied, 'It may be to you, but I can't see it for my part.'

"Then Jack was sent for again, and a big long talk was had. The agent sat for hours in a hot room filled with tobacco smoke, and listened to speech after speech of which he understood nothing, and during all the time said nothing.

"Among the speeches was one made by Douglas—which was the closing plea, or summing of the case, lasting nearly half an hour, and then it was understood why Douglas was made chief—that is on account of his eloquence. First, he spoke in poetic Ute—not in the common vernacular. Second, the words were uttered with perfect distinctness and yet quite rapidly; third, the sentences were measured. There would be three sentences of about fifteen words each; then a sentence of about thirty or forty words and so on. The Indians listened to him with the utmost attention, and some seemed to shed the sympathetic tear, for frequently in his gestures he seemed to embrace some object, and with fervor and with love. It was afterwards learned that he spoke of the union of all the Indians, * * * and then of the fatherly care of the government embracing and caring for all as if they were children of one father.

"Soon after the speech Douglas asked the agent what he would do for Jane if she would move off. The reply was that he would move the corral, help her husband build a log house, dig a well, give them a stove, and have everything nice. This was agreed to and the agent was to have the land. The impression is that if the Indians had been free to choose, they would have forbidden another furrow to be turned."

"This stopping plows by bullets is by no means a new thing in America, for so to speak, the plow has plowed its way from the Atlantic to the heart of the Rocky Mountains, through showers of bullets, and the American plow is yet to turn furrows across China and the Steppes of Tartary, and even invert the soil around sacred Jerusalem—'Speed the Plow'!"

"Speed the Plow," these are the last words, so far as I can find, that N. C. Meeker wrote for his paper, and most appropriate ones. The plow is the symbol of agricultural industry to which he had devoted the best years of his active beneficent life.

A short time after the above letter was written, Johnson made a cruel attack upon Mr. Meeker. The circumstances as related to the writer by Mrs. Meeker were these: One morning Johnson came into the house looking angry and asked for the agent. Mrs. Meeker told him that he was out of doors somewhere. Johnson went out but did not meet the agent before he came in. He came back in a short time and seized Mr. Meeker, who was sitting in a chair and still suffering much from the injuries spoken of, by the shoulders and dragged him violently out of the house and crowded him up against a fence near by. There were plenty of Indians standing near who quietly looked on. Mrs. Meeker cried for the white men to come to the rescue, which they did, Mr. Post being the first to get there. He expostulated with Johnson, who then let him go. Johnson gave no reason for this attack and so far as Mrs. Meeker knows he had none but the general ones. Indeed, he and his had been treated with special kindness.

No further trouble arose until the day of the massacre. Albert Woodbury left only a day or two before and met the troops going to the agency—those under Captain Dodge. He says there was no more appearance of an outbreak then than there had been for months, and he did not come from there on any account of fear of one, but for business reasons.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

UTE AND WHITE RIVER MASSACRE—THORNBURG'S FIGHT AT MILK CREEK—THE MARCH OF CAPTAIN DODGE'S COLORED COMPANY TO THE RELIEF OF THE BELEAGUERED CAMP—GENERAL MERRITT'S MOVEMENTS FOR SAME PURPOSE—ACCOUNT OF THE MASSACRE BY MISS SARAH E. DRESSER AS TAKEN FROM THE LIPS OF MRS. PRICE—ACCOUNT OF THE TOWN OF MEEKER AS GIVEN BY GEORGE L. SHEPARD—GEORGE W. EATON, ARTHUR THOMPSON, WILLIAM H. POST—FRED SHEPARD'S LETTER TO HIS FATHER—LETTER OF N. C. MEEKER TO THE AUTHOR SIX DAYS BEFORE THE MASSACRE—MR. AND MRS. PRICE—ACCOUNT OF THE MASSACRE FROM MRS. MEEKER—HOW JOSEPHINE MEEKER WAS TREATED—THE TREATMENT RECEIVED BY THE CAPTIVES AT THE HANDS OF SUSAN JOHNSON—CHIEF OURAY—RECEPTION OF THE CAPTIVES IN GREELEY—CONCERNING A MONUMENT TO N. C. MEEKER—PORTRAIT OF N. C. MEEKER IN HIGH SCHOOL—N. C. MEEKER'S FAMILY—PENSIONS GIVEN TO THE RELATIVES OF THE MASSACRED—NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE INDIANS AFTER THE MASSACRE—POSITION TAKEN BY OURAY IN DEFENSE OF HIS PEOPLE—THE GOVERNMENT'S INDIAN POLICY—RALPH MEEKER'S VIEWS ABOUT THE PROPER COURSE TO PURSUE WITH THE INDIANS—REVIEW OF THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF N. C. MEEKER—THE REASONS FOR HIS UNPOPULARITY—HIS SUPPORT OF HORACE GREELEY—MEEKER HAS A MONUMENT IN GREELEY MORE ENDURING THAN BRASS, IN SPITE OF HIS ENEMIES AND DETRACTORS.

MR. MEEKER, after the violent proceedings of the Indians concerning the plowing, sent to Governor Pitkin and also to General Pope for troops. Major Thornburg was ordered from Fort Steele with three companies of cavalry numbering about 160 men. He was met by ten Indians on horseback with whom were chiefs Colorow and Jack, who professed friendship and rode off. They again made their appearance, and this time asked Thornburg with five others to accompany them to the agency for a conference. This was declined since Thornburg remembered the fate of General Canby at the hands of the Modocs. There was no more seen of the Indians until the road reached Milk Creek, a tributary of the Bear, about twenty-five miles from the agency. Here the road passes along a narrow canon of the river. The Indians had formed an ambush at this defile but were discovered by Lieutenant Cherry before the command got into the place of greatest danger. The lieutenant was ordered to advance with fifteen soldiers and hail the Indians. Thornburg's orders were not to fire first. Cherry, when within two hundred yards of the Indians took off his hat and waved it, but the only response was a volley from the Indians which killed Cherry's horse and wounded one of his men. He dismounted his detachment and fell back to the main body, skirmishing. The wagon train was about a mile in the rear, guarded by a company under the command of Lieutenant Paddock. Orders were sent back to park the wagon train and defend it with the guard. "Simultaneously with the attack on Thornburg's front the Indians swept in between the command and the wagon train. Major Thornburg was here and there and everywhere directing the attack, the defense and later the retreat. He, seeing the danger that threatened his command if the Indians should get possession of the wagon train, put himself at the head of twenty mounted men and made a desperate charge upon the Indians between him and the train. While making this dash Thornburg was killed when within four hundred yards of the wagon train, and thirteen of his followers also fell." Before the train was reached every officer was wounded, save Lieutenant Cherry, who was in the thickest of the fight covering the retreat and holding the enemy at bay until the wagon train could be put in a form to afford a temporary shelter. In the engagement twelve soldiers were killed and forty-two wounded. Some two hundred mules were killed, the corral not affording them sufficient shelter from the Indian sharpshooters covering the heights, which were within rifle range. It is said that the Indians had got possession of a gun carrying a large bullet and of long range, used at the agency for killing beef steers on beef ration days, and that it was with this gun that the horses and mules were killed.

The troops had only six days supplies. In the fight twenty-three Indians were killed, how many wounded, was not known, as they were taken from the field. During the darkness of the first night Joe Rankin, the scout, left the camp and succeeded in escaping the vigils of the enemy. His mission was to carry the news of the Thornburg disaster to Rawlins and get succor to the beleaguered troops. The distance was one hundred and sixty miles, and he is said to have made it in twenty-eight consecutive hours.

The men made breastworks of the dead horses and mules, covering them slightly with earth. Water had to be got at night from the creek by volunteers running the gauntlet of the Indian fire. The dry grass and dead sage brush, to the windward, was set on fire by the Indians and was extinguished with the greatest difficulty before setting the camp on fire. Some three men were killed while in the beleaguered camp and several wounded.

On the third morning of the siege Captain Dodge joined the command with a company of forty-one colored cavalry. He had been sent some time before to Middle Park to protect the settlers there against Indian depredations. He had been ordered from here to the White River Agency. The third scout, Gordon, sent out to bear the tidings to Rawlins, was intercepted by Dodge from whom he learned the situation of Thornburg's command. Ed. Mansfield, a Greeley man from the agency, was also with Gordon. These two acted as guides to conduct Captain Dodge to the scene of the conflict. It was eighty miles away, eleven miles were made before sundown. Camp was then pitched to deceive the Indians that might be on the lookout, but was broken as soon as darkness had set in, and the remainder of the journey was completed by daybreak. The ride thus accomplished was one of the bravest on record, not so much from the daring or exposure as from its rapidity, and the fact that an ambush was looked for every moment. It joined the other command without any loss, and gave security to the camp against an Indian attack, had it been undertaken.

General Merritt was at Cheyenne and was ordered to take command of a relieving force. The troops he was to command were at Salt Lake, Cheyenne, Ogden and Fort Steele, and were concentrated at Rawlins by the morning of the 2nd of October, three days after the battle. The force was about 300 cavalry and 250 infantry in wagons. The distance was 160 miles and was made in three days. The time actually spent in the March was about forty-eight hours. They arrived about daybreak of the 5th and the Indians offered no further resistance. "General Merritt headed his command as it advanced to the pits. When he saw the wreck and carnage, the dead and wounded, and viewed the signs of the massacre on every hand, he turned aside and wept like a child." So says the pamphlet gotten up by the *Denver Tribune* shortly after the Ute outbreak, and what has been given above is chiefly condensed from that source.

What follows is taken from the accounts lately given by Mrs. Meeker to the writer. and also from the written statements of Josephine Meeker and Mrs. Price. It is worthy of remark that neither of these women had that bitter animosity toward all the Indians that was so abundantly displayed at that time throughout the state. In fact they instance many acts of kindness on the part of the Indians of both sexes.

The massacre at the agency took place on the afternoon of the day of the battle at Milk Creek. The best short account of it that the writer finds is contained in an article written by Sarah E. Dresser, the elder sister of Frank and Harry, for the Beloit (Wisconsin) *Free Press.* Mr. Dresser's family had lived there before coming to Colorado. From it we quote :

"Sunday, the day before the massacre, Mr. Meeker wrote a dispatch to Thornburg, and gave it to Harry Dresser to carry, but after all the preparations were made, two Indian runners came in, and he concluded to wait. That night Frank wrote his mother, 'It is now half-past ten, and I must close as I must stand guard part of the night. Meeker is afraid they will fire the hay. As regards danger, don't fret, mother ; we are as safe and sleep as soundly as if in your quiet town of Greeley. To-morrow the soldiers will be in, and the plowing will go on, *for Meeker must carry out orders or resign.*'"

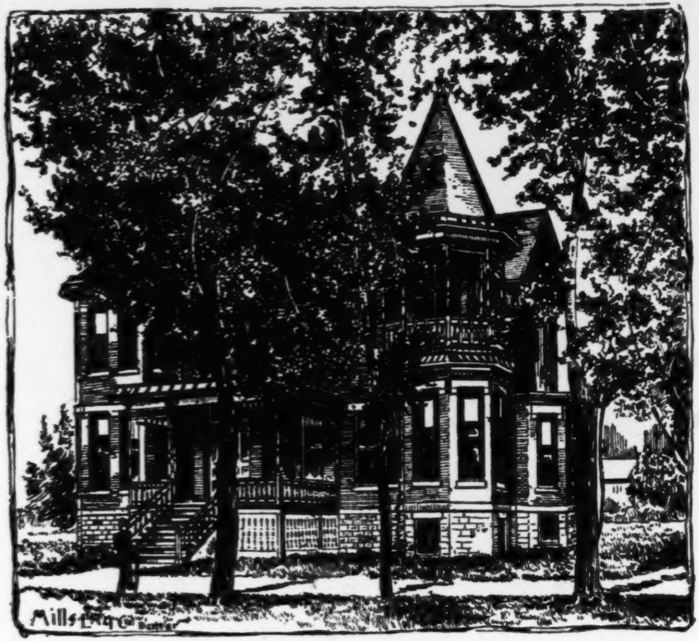
"Mrs. Price, one of the women lately rescued from the Utes, sits by my side. I give the story of the next day in her words: 'After breakfast, Price loaded his Winchester, putting sixteen cartridges in the magazine, and one in the chamber, and laid it on the table saying, 'we may have trouble, so don't be alarmed if I run in after the gun.' During the afternoon Meeker sent Eskridge with a dispatch for Thornburg. Sowerwick and Douglas ate dinner with us. After dinner the men went to work as usual. Price and Frank Dresser were on a wagon in front of the storehouse, and Arthur Thompson was on the roof. I heard shots and saw Thompson fall from the roof headlong. I took baby and ran into the room. In an instant Frank Dresser ran in shot in the leg. Josie handed him Price's gun. The sweat was just pouring from his face. He said, 'They have just shot Harry ; I saw him fall.' Just then Tata, Johnson's brother, came towards the door. Frank shot, and the Indian fell. Then we all ran into the milkhouse, and after locking the door, we hid under the shelves. The windows of the room we left were riddled with bullets. Frank was shot above the knee ; it hurt him some, so we fixed it as well as we could. We stayed there till nearly 5 o'clock. Once we heard footsteps, but kept still, thinking it was a Ute. Afterwards I found it was my poor husband. Frank wanted to make a hole in the wall and shoot out, but we persuaded him not to, for fear that it would be worse for us. Soon we heard crackling of flames and smelled the smoke, and knew they were trying to burn us out. Frank said, 'Perhaps we can run and hide in the sage brush.' He took off his boots and we went out as quietly as possible. Josie said, 'They are stealing things from the storehouse. Let us run.' We started, but the Utes soon saw us and commenced firing at us. Frank ran like a deer, carrying Price's gun in his right hand. Mrs. Meeker soon fell shot in the hip, and we all had to stop. Cojoe seized me, and just then I looked after Frank. He was still running, and threw his head over his shoulder for a last look. I saw no more of him, but thought till I got to Alamosa that he had escaped. We were in the Indian camp three weeks. Tata died in about two days after Frank shot him. We never saw any of the men after they were killed, excepting Mr. Meeker. Mrs. Meeker saw him lying dead, and stooped to give him a last kiss. At the end of three weeks we were rescued by General Charles Adams and Captain Cline. We had a horrible time in camp. In addition to the hardships inevitable on such a rough march, we endured the most sickening and humiliating experiences that can befall women."

We then have an account of the movements of General Merritt's army towards the agency, and we give what is further known of the fate of Frank Dresser in the words of his sister.

" As the soldiers advanced down the canon towards the agency, and about eighteen miles north of it, some of them stopped to drink from what is known as Coal Bank Creek, and discovered traces of blood. A halt was made, and going into the mouth of the shaft they discovered the body of a white man. His coat was folded under his head and he had a Winchester rifle cocked and clasped in his hand. In his vest pocket was found a dispatch from Mr. Meeker, and papers indicating that he was Harry Dresser, and giving his age and address at Greeley. So it was reported that it was Harry that was found here; but afterwards there was found on a post in the coal mine this message, 'Have been here twenty-one hours. All killed at the agency. Send my money to my mother at Greeley. Frank Dresser.'

" He had bound pieces of buckskin around his feet. The history of the hours after he left the agency will ~~never be~~ known, but he must have returned to get Harry's coat and vest, and probably met Indians about daybreak, and fought them, as eight cartridges were gone from the gun. His fatal wound was in the right breast. There were signs that he had gone several times to the creek for water. There was no money found on Frank when he was taken from the mine. A soldier was afterwards known to have robbed him. He had $125 on him. Harry had over $400 at the agency of which nothing was ever heard.

" It is not necessary to give here in detail the scenes of horror and desolation that met the eyes of the soldiers as they marched down to the silence of the ruined sacked agency. One building was left standing and the ground was strewn with the murdered men. Father Meeker was horribly mutilated, the rest were lying where they were shot and were buried where they fell."


Mills Eng. Co. Denver

RESIDENCE OF JESSE HAWES, M. D.

It may be here added that the bodies were indentified by a man named Taylor who accompanied Merritt's command and knew all the men, having been a mail carrier to the agency, and markers with the name of each were placed at the heads of the graves by order of General Merritt. Mr. George T. Dresser visited the scene of the massacre next summer and moved all the bodies and reburied them in the edge of this patch of sage brush bordering the meadow at the agency. Here they were placed side by side, a fence put around the plat and a sketch made of it. The remains of Mr. Meeker and Mr. Post were removed about a year after the massacre, but the other six still lie there. Mr. George L. Shepard visited the place last summer with a view to having the bodies either removed here or interred in the cemetery at the town of Meeker. From him I learn the following:

The town of Meeker is about two miles up stream on higher ground than the agency was. The meadow which Meeker undertook to plow is now owned by a Jew, named Bernstein. It is fast becoming a swamp from seepage from the ditch which Meeker had the Indians build. This has been much enlarged and irrigates lands below. The town of Meeker is irrigated by a new ditch taken out the river farther up the stream. The place numbers about two hundred inhabitants. It is now approached from the south, the nearest railroad point being Newcastle, on the Midland railroad, which is distant fifty miles, while it is nearly two hundred miles to Rawlins, from whence the agency got supplies. But the road from the south is a very mountainous one and so the place is still difficult of access. The town is only a trading point for the ranchmen far around it, mostly engaged in stock raising. The valleys along the White river are narrow and not much cultivation can be done.

The people of Meeker prefer to have the remains of the massacred employes left there, as visitors have a curiosity to see the spot where they lie. Hence when the new cemetery is enclosed it is proposed to move the remains there and probably the town will bear the expense. It is understood that the relatives here, who are all fairly well off, think that this is the suitable thing to do, rather than bring them here, away from their historic resting place.

We will now say a word further about the other men killed at the agency. All save Eskridge were from Greeley. This man was sent by Mr. Meeker, as we have seen, on the day of the battle, with a dispatch to Thornburg. Two Indians accompanied him and they shot him when about two miles from the agency.

George W. Eaton had been at the agency but a short time, having been engaged by Mr. Meeker when on his last visit home, and he had driven through a mule team purchased at that time. His trunk had never been brought from Rawlins to the agency. George was one of the earliest colonists. He accompanied his brother Oscar and Mr. and Mrs. A. J. Wilber, the latter of whom was his sister. He was a graduate of the Michigan Agricultural College and used to take quite an active part in the Farmers' clubs and lyceums of the early days. He had speculated a good deal in Greeley real estate, making money at first, but holding over too much during the reaction in grasshopper times. He went out with Mr. Meeker principally to repair his injured fortunes. His mother and three sisters still live in Greeley.

Arthur Thompson was a bright, capable young man, the son of a well-to-do colony farmer, T. F. Thompson. The young man had just come of age and went out to the agency to make some money to give him a start in farming for himself. He was as promising a young man as there was in the whole country. His father and mother have for a number of years been retired from the farm and live in town.

Wm. H. Post was assistant agent under N. C. Meeker. He had been secretary for the colony some three years, and in addition carried on a book and stationery business. But he left here about 1875, returning to Yonkers, where he remained until Mr. Meeker asked him to join him at the agency. The latter knew that Post was a good accountant and business man. He appears to have been well liked by the Indians and had an opinion that if there was an outbreak the Indians would never kill him. Indeed all the employes seem to have labored under this delusion. Only Mr. Meeker and the Indians had really any difficulties. They seem to have liked all the boys. Fred Shepard, of whom we will now speak, seems to have been an especial favorite. He had a violin with him and used to play evenings for the Indians, to their great delight. His father had a letter from him written but three days before the massacre. We quote from it to show the general feelings of the "boys" about the danger, and their views about the management of things by N. C. Meeker. It to some extent is on the Indian side of the question. Indeed, if they had only killed N. C. Meeker they could not be blamed so much for savagery. With him, from their point of view, they had a quarrel, and if the speculations of the employes about what their fate would be in case of an outbreak had related to the probable conduct of white men, they would have reasoned wisely. But when the Indian is mad he knows no relation between desert and punishment, and hence he is so dangerous a neighbor. But to return to Fred Shepard. His father had heard of the order for troops to be sent in, and being sure that there would be a fight, wrote his son to get out of there as quick as he could. Three days before the massacre he received a letter from his son, from which we quote the following:

"As regards my getting out here soon, I have not felt as if I was in any danger, so far as my life is concerned, since I have been here any more than ever I did in your door-yard. I don't blame the Utes for not wanting this ground plowed up. It is a splendid place for ponies, and there is *better farming land, and just as near,* right west of this field, but it is covered with sage brush. *Douglas says he will have his boys clear the sage brush away if N. C. will only let the grass land alone.* But N. C. is stubborn and won't have it that way, and has sent for soldiers to carry out his plans. Don't know how it will turn out, but you can bet if they touch anybody it will be the agent first. Danforth, the agent before N. C., used to have regular fights with them every little while. He fought with Johnson once about two hours, there being no one to stop them. When Johnson took hold of N. C. the other day, George (Eaton) and I ran up to him and he quit. He did not calculate to hurt him. As regards their shooting at Price, when he was plowing, I haven't the least idea in the world that they shot at him. They are shooting all the time at marks and they are very careful about a gun. I have been at work for over a week tearing down a barn at the old agency, and have commenced to put it up down here.

"You say you are very anxious about me. You can be assured that I am in no danger here more than I would be anywhere else, but I guess old settlers 'have got it bad,' as Lithgow is in here now, and says if we were outside we would not dare come in here. He had heard that the agent was killed and the Utes raiding the White and Bear rivers."

This was the state of confidence of the boys. They did not understand Indian nature. The old settlers, whom we see the boys were disposed to laugh at for their fears, understood the Indians better. We have seen fit to print the part relating to the plowing the land, as it gives the Indian side of the difficulty. To this it may be added that they had a race-course here, and this was one objection. But as these courses are straight tracks, there would have been no difficulty in getting another just as good. It may be farther said that Mr. Meeker kept a strict account with the Indians in the smallest things. They like little presents just like children, and an agent can make himself popular with them by giving these things at the expense of the government. Still there would seem to be no latitude allowed the agent in his instructions, and the straightforwardness of Mr. Meeker disqualified him for managing such an affair and yet be able to give the account he was required to make of all property put into his hands.

The following letter, written to the author only eight days before the massacre, is here inserted, as it shows not only Mr. Meeker's intentions about the management of the Indians, but his pecuniary circumstances and prospects. The first part is written to me as executive officer of the colony, and it might here be said that the land he speaks about had all been purchased by J. M. Freeman, and is now Arlington Heights addition. It was more than a year after this (spring of 1881) before the charter was taken out for the Loveland and Greeley canal, which waters this land, but Mr. Meeker always believed that it was only a question of time when this land would be under irrigation.

"WHITE RIVER INDIAN AGENCY, September 21, 1879.

"CAPT. D. BOYD,
"Greeley, Colo.:

"DEAR FRIEND—I neglected to say one thing to you when I was in Greeley, and I now write. This is, if that piece of colony land, known as 'College Reserve,' is not yet disposed of, I would like to have it; in fact I always did want it. So if you will bear it in mind and give me a chance for it, I shall be obliged. By the close of this year I shall have all my debts paid up; and after that may expect to save some money.

"How long I shall stay here I do not know, but I want to stay long enough to have something ahead.

"I have had trouble with the Indians. They cannot stand it to see progressive movements, and they rebel; but there are soldiers coming in, and we shall see. By the way, the soldiers are negroes, and it is significant that this race, once so despised, shall compel, to some extent, the civilization of the Indians.

"The season has been extremely dry, and only our wheat crop was first-rate, though our cabbage, turnips and beets are excellent. Potatoes are next to nothing. We have had no rain save twice since last fall a year ago.

"Regards to your wife and olive branches.

"N. C. MEEKER."

Mr. Price was not an original colonist. He had come with his wife from Missouri about two years before, and was farming on a rented farm near Mr. Dresser. His wife was very young, said to have been married to him at the tender age of thirteen. She married soon after returning to Greeley and went with her husband and children to Washington Territory. He was soon killed there by the falling of a tree, and so she lost a second husband by a violent death before she was of an age at which many other women begin to think it suitable to enter the matrimonial state. She is married a third time, but has passed from the knowledge of people here. She got a pension of $500 for twenty years. All the bereaved parents or wives of those massacred got like pensions. However, that given to Mr. Dresser was only during his life. He died about two years ago, and his widow survives him without getting the pension.

It may be farther said that the Greeley "boys" were induced to go to the agency on account of the wages being higher than usual in common avocations. Sixty dollars a month was paid, and out of this came fifteen dollars for board. As they were all temperate and saving they would soon be able to make a start farming for themselves.

We will now return to the story of the captive women and children as given more fully by Mrs. Meeker and her daughter.

When Mrs. Meeker was shot she fell, and the big Indian who did it approached her and said: "Me no shoot. Do not be afraid. Me mighty sorry you are hurt. But me mad because white soldiers kill Indians." He then asked her if she had any money. She said she had not, but that she could get some at the agency. He then offered to accompany her there. He gave her his arm as politely and helped her along as tenderly as a polished white man would. He took her up to where Mr. Meeker was lying, shot in front of his office, his face upturned to the sky, there calm and placid in death. She stooped down and kissed the silent lips for the last time, while the Indian stood a little way off. She says that she thinks that he brought her here on purpose to let her take this last farewell. She then went in the house and got the money, some thirty dollars, and offered it to the Indian. He would not take a cent of it, but told her that he would take her to Chief Douglas and that she could give him the money. This he did with the same care and considerateness as before. Douglas took the money without any compunction and the big Indian left. She says he was not a White River Ute.

It is thought that Jane's husband, Parviets, and Antelope called Mr. Meeker out of his office and shot him. We have seen that these two had especially differed with him about the plowing, and this may be all the ground that there is for the belief. The Indians seem not to have given the captive women any information about the particulars of the massacre. When Mr. Meeker's body was found, some weeks afterwards by General Merritt's command, it was mutilated and a log chain about the neck, by which it had been dragged. This had no doubt been done in the drunkenness which followed, as the Indians were more or less drunk for a day or two after the massacre.

Next morning after the massacre, the Indians started with the captives south to the camp where their women had been taken before the battle. Douglas took possession of Mrs. Meeker, and an Indian named Persune of Josephine. The night before, these two came near having a fight over whose she should be, but Persune, who had captured her, would not yield her up even to his chief. It was the old quarrel with which the Iliad starts out—the contest between Agamemnon and Achilles about the fair captive maiden Briseis, but "The Douglas" yielded more readily than the mythical Greek "King of Men."

Mrs. Price seems to have been treated quite civilly by the Uncompahgre Ute who made her his captive. It is related that "He pulled a watch from his pocket and asked her if she recognized it. It proved to be a gold time-piece taken from Mr. Post, and a valued family relic. The Indian put the guard over Mrs. Price's head, saying that it was her watch.

"Persune rode alongside of Josephine, driving his two pack mules in front, and was not in the least rude or presuming. When she complained of thirst he went to the river and brought her a drink in his hat. To illustrate the different degrees of politeness among savages, it may be related that Mrs. Price had also asked her Indian for water. He gave it also out of his hat, but before handing it to her always drank himself. This Persune did not do."

When they stopped, after a four hours' ride, Douglas approached Josephine in a threatening manner. "He called her white squaw, laughed at her, reciting his wrongs and threatened to kill her. He said the massacre occurred because Thornburg told the Indians that he was going to arrest the head chiefs, take them to Fort Steele and put them in prison, perhaps hang them. He said Agent Meeker had written all the letters to the Denver papers, and circulated wild reports about what the Indians would do, as set forth by the Western press, and that he was responsible for all the hostility against the Indians among the whites in the West. He manifested a perfect knowledge of what had been said in the papers, and quoted largely almost word for word from them. * * While Douglas was telling this he stood in front of the captive girl with his gun, and his anger was dreadful. Then he shouldered his gun and walked up and down before her in the moonlight imitating the employes who had kept guard at the agency for three nights before the massacre. He sang English songs he had heard the agency employes sing in their rooms.

He said the agent had always been writing to Washington. He always saw him writing when he was at the agency. He then walked off a few feet, returned and placed his loaded gun at her forehead three separate times and asked her if she was going to run away. She told him that she was not afraid of him or death and was not going to run away. When his repeated threats did not frighten her the other Indians turned on him and laughed at him; then he sneaked away and went over and tried to frighten her mother.

Mrs. Price says "They took a great fancy to my little child, and when they found that they could not steal him they offered three ponies for him. They made me do more drudgery than they did Josephine. They had her cook and me carry water."

Finally Mrs. Meeker had a long talk with Johnson about agency matters, and this seemed to explain things to him and she was taken to his tent and treated well by his wife Susan. Here she remained until the arrival of General Adams. He came with instructions from Ouray, head chief to the under chiefs to give up the captives without parley or ransom. But not to have a big talk over it was more than the Indians could stand. Douglas was sent for. He was now some twenty-five miles off. When he came, a general conference was sitting. It lasted five hours. "The council was marked by great vehemence. There was a peace party and a war party, and for the time war seemed to be in the ascendant. Susan, who, besides being the wife of Johnson, is Ouray's sister, took a leading part in the council, and consequently her words had great weight with the Indians. She was followed by her husband, who also advocated the release of the prisoners. It is the first instance on record of a squaw taking part in an important council, and it is thought that she brought over her husband to advocate the peace policy, for he had until lately been the most opposed to the agent and his plans."

There is a story that Susan when young had been taken captive by the Sioux, and was going to be burned at the stake on the banks of the Poudre near where Greeley now stands, and that a party of white soldiers from Fort Collins had rescued her, and hence her lasting gratitude and friendship for the whites, and defense of the women when exposed to a fate like that which threatened her.

But the logic of circumstances no doubt had more to do in determining the savage Douglas and his followers to sue for peace than the eloquence of Doctor Johnson and his "Louise Chandler Moulton" of a wife. Merritt having waited for the coming of his reserve was now moving south. His force was large and its magnitude well known to the savages. Their exultation at the victory over Thornburg was but of short duration, and was giving place to the gravest despondency. The sub chief, Sapavanero, and Shevano had brought Ouray's mandate to stop fighting or he would turn in and help the white soldiers to subdue the White River Utes. These men in the council entreated, expostulated, threatened, commanded. Finally Douglas said that the women would be delivered up if General Adams would go north with him and stop the advance of the soldiers under Merritt. This Adams consented to, but on the condition that the women should be sent off immediately. At last Douglas reluctantly consented to the women being allowed to go before the return of Adams from Merritt's camp.

Ouray had been to Washington and had seen the numbers and power of the people of the United States, and knew that opposition would be in the end suicidal. He had a large farm under cultivation, lived in a good house and had a fine carriage to ride in, with a negro to drive him around in fine style. So we see that there are Indians and Indians, and Mrs. Meeker and her daughter Josephine knew it, and in the face of all they suffered had the justice and magnanimity to say so, and as some thought, unnaturally, defend the Indians.

After the report of the Thornburg engagement until General Merritt reached the agency, the people of Greeley were in an agony of suspense. Conflicting reports as to the fate of agent and employes made hope and fear give place to each other in rapid succession. When it was known what was the fate of the men, and that the women had been captured, the fate of these again was ever uppermost in the thought of the whole people. A mass meeting was called by the Mayor and the place went into mourning as it had done on learning of the death of Horace Greeley. Appropriate memorial speeches were made by a number of citizens and when the released women were known to be returning, a deputation of citizens was elected to meet them at Evans and present them with an address. The committee were as follows: Chas. A. White and wife, Joseph Moore and wife, F. L. Childs and wife, A. K. Packard and wife, B. H. Yerkes and wife. The following is the address, read by the chairman, C. A. White:

"DEAR MRS. MEEKER—The people of Greeley have mourned sincerely and deeply with you for the death of your honored husband. We have unanimously defended his good name, and will. We honor and will proclaim the spirit of benevolence and generosity towards the Indians with which he accepted the responsibilities, and entered upon the work to which the government called him; we recognize the carefulness and discretion shown in choosing his employes, all of whom justified his selection by their competence and fidelity to him and his plans. We cannot too highly commend his goodness of purpose, his strict obedience to the instructions of the government, his rigid faithfulness to it, to his convictions of duty, and to his cherished determination to deal justly by, and to improve his miserable and ungrateful wards.

"We have been anxious and distressed for you and your companions in your trials, and in the perils and hardships of your captivity. Some among us prayed daily for you, and gave thanks when we heard of your recovery from the savages. We have admired with enthusiasm the brave, womanly and noble spirit of your heroic daughter, as her conduct has been reported to us.

"In reverent remembrance of your husband, the founder of our colony, whose name is associated with its history to its honor; the honest man, the faithful citizen and officer of the government, and with high esteem for yourself, we desire to assure you of our deep sympathy and of your hearty welcome back to your home and to us. While we have been perplexed by what means we might best express our sympathy and our welcome, we heartily pledge you whatever we can to comfort your sorrow and to help your future to be happy."

To Mrs. Price:

"DEAR MADAM—The people of Greeley desire to assure you of their sympathy in your affliction by the cruel death of your husband, and your terrible experience following it, of perilous captivity and hardships. They have rejoiced in your recovery and gladly welcome your coming among them.

"At a mass meeting of men and women last evening an earnest desire was expressed that we might be permitted to provide a temporary home for yourself and children, and whatever might be needed for your welfare and comfort, till you shall have had time and opportunity to plan and provide permanently for yourselves. It was announced that several families are each hoping for the privilege of receiving you to their hospitalities. You may be certainly assured of sympathy, welcome and good wishes, and desire to serve you on the part of our people.

"We desire to thank you for your generous and brave interposition, together with her daughter's, in behalf of Mrs. Meeker against the roughness and cruelty of her captors.

"May the future for yourself and your children be as peaceful and prosperous as the recent past has been troubled and afflicted.

"BY THE COMMITTEE OF RECEPTION."

The response of the captives was as follows:

"DEAR FRIENDS—No words can express our gratitude for the deep, unspeakable heart-sympathy which you have shown in so many ways. We rejoice to be with you again, to walk in these pleasant streets, and to greet you at our firesides. A few weeks ago this was a dream. We thought we would never see your faces again. But heaven be praised we are back in this dear town once more—here in Greeley, where we hope to live and end our days with you. Dear friends, your delicacy, your generosity, your honorable sorrow for those who can be here with us no more, touch us too deeply for farther utterance.

"With sincere thanksgiving we sign ourselves,

"ARVILLA D. MEEKER,
"JOSEPHINE MEEKER,
"FLORA ELLEN PRICE."

We farther quote from *The Greeley Tribune*, November 5, 1879:

"When the train reached the station the entire population in a body met them with tearful eyes, joyous faces and outstretched arms. It was a spectacle long to be remembered. Aged men, venerable women, young people, boys and girls, in fact everybody extended a profound and respectful welcome. A line of carriages was drawn up in front of the depot and Mrs. Meeker and Josephine and Mrs. Price and the two children were driven to Mrs. Meeker's residence on Monroe street. A more remarkable event has not been witnessed since the founding of the town."

Not only at Greeley were the captives gladly welcomed. All along the line of travel, from the time they reached the railroad at Alamosa until they came home, they were gladly greeted at every town through which they passed. The two railroad companies over whose roads they were carried furnished the whole party free tickets, and hotels were thrown freely open to them wherever they stopped over. Such glad days come but seldom into life's weary round and are all the dearer when they follow on the heels of days of suffering and distress. But the joy at their own deliverance could last but a moment in hearts so lately, so terribly bereaved. Sweet solace this balm of sympathy flowing into the wounded soul, and through it the recipient feels nearer and more tenderly bound to his kind. But the sad, still, voiceless days follow and oppress all the same. The out-gush of sympathy soon ceases to reach the bereaved, fresh sufferers come on the scene to draw to them in turn the flow of public grief, and at last we have all to bear our burdens alone to the silent grave where they are buried with us.

For all the parade of sorrow above recited not only Mr. Meeker's family but his memory was destined to suffer cruel neglect at the hands of the great majority of the people of Greeley. At the first public meeting called for the purpose of expressing the sentiments of the people concerning the massacre of N. C. Meeker and the young men from Greeley, the Rev. B. H. Yerkes spoke of the propriety of the people soon raising a suitable monument to the memory of the founder of the colony. We farther observe that at a regular meeting of the Board of Town Trustees, November 3, 1879, A. Z. Salomon offered the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

"That in order to commemorate the meritorious services of N. C. Meeker, the father of Union Colony of Colorado, and the founder of our town, and who, as the agent at the White River Agency, was massacred by the Ute Indians on the 29th day of September, 1879, therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That the name of Main street in the town of Greeley be and is hereby changed and that the same be called for the future Meeker avenue; and it is farther

"*Resolved*, That the Recorder be instructed to procure a first-class portrait, in oil painting, of Father Meeker to be placed in the town hall of our town.

"On motion of Trustee L. B. Willard the foregoing preamble and resolutions were ordered to be published in the town papers."

Well, no portrait of Mr. Meeker was procured at that time or ever by the town authorities. Main street remained Main street until some years after it was labeled by the board "Eighth Street," when numbers were substituted for the beautiful names historic, or from well known American forest trees, which the more poetical fancy of Meeker, Cameron and West had given them. With the old settlers these names still abide, and they never try to learn the numbers which desecrate the places of these historic names.

We have mentioned that the remains of Mr. Meeker were brought to Greeley about a year after the massacre. There was a rumor got afloat that they would be taken to New York for interment. The people here were very indignant at the proposal. About a year after this there appeared in *The Greeley Tribune* for October, 1881, the following:

"A monument to the memory of N. C. Meeker."

"MR. EDITOR—I understand that it frequently happens when strangers are visiting our cemetery they ask to be shown the last resting place of N. C. Meeker, and are pointed out a heap of red earth. Of course they express astonishment at the indifference of the people of Greeley to the memory of their celebrated townsman who founded their colony and town, and was all and all both in his life and death as remarkable a man as has appeared in these latter days.

"Now, I believe that this neglect is only apparent, and that it is far from the intention of the people of Greeley and vicinity to leave in barren desolation the grave of him whom we all feel honored in calling 'Father Meeker.' To permanently neglect this duty of raising a monument in testimony of our grateful appreciation of his memory were to show an ingratitude of which I feel confident we are incapable. Whatever be the opinion outside to the contrary, I am persuaded that this is a generous people towards any object deemed worthy.

"Without doubt it has been the expectation of a great majority of our people that some movement would be made in this direction, but no one seems disposed to take the initiative. We all know how indignant we were when it was rumored that his remains were to be taken to New York for interment. This feeling showed that we believed that N. C. Meeker belonged to us; that the work he had done in founding and establishing the Union Colony was the great work of his life, and that we would be dishonored should his remains not be suffered to repose side by side with our dead. For certainly it could be the wish of no one that these remains should be laid in our cemetery to be left in neglect. On the contrary we only wanted the opportunity of honoring ourselves by generously contributing, each and all, something towards a monument to keep green the memory of the founder of Union Colony, the unswerving advocate and exemplar of temperance, frugality and persevering industry, who bravely fell at his post of duty. Hence it seems good to me to make the following proposal:

"Let a subscription be opened in the columns of *The Tribune*, which he has founded. Let each one who wishes to contribute send his or her name to the editor, which, with the amount shall be placed in a column kept for that purpose. This list is to be kept open to the first day of the New Year. Then, if the sum of $1,000 is subscribed, let the monument be erected by a committee appointed by the subscribers. * * *

"As his successor, as president of the colony, I hope it will not be deemed unbecoming in me who knew him so long, so well, and who held his name and character in so high esteem, to take the initiative in this matter.

"DAVID BOYD."

Many having indicated that it would be well to have the names of the other Greeley parties killed at the massacre, also on the monument, which it was expected would be raised in Lincoln Park, a notice to that effect was published, and the following was the result at the end of the year:

William McClellan, $100; Oscar Eaton, $100; A. Z. Salomon, $50; David Boyd, $50; B. H. Eaton, $50; Hawks & Scott, $50; Putnam Brothers, $50; P. T. Barnum, $50; S. W. Hilton, $25; Morris Hastings, $25; M. J. Hogarty, $25; T. F. Thompson, $25; J. Max. Clark, $25; A. B. Clark, $10; B. E. Congdon, $5; A. W. Hancock, $5. It will be seen that the sum total only reached $645, and it was contrary to the conditions of the subscription to proceed except it reached a thousand dollars. Hence the matter was dropped and has never been taken up again. It is the deliberate opinion of the writer that the people of Greeley never acted so meanly in anything as they did in this. It will be seen that there were only eighteen people in Greeley who had a cent to spare for a monument to the man who had founded their town and but for whom there would be no such place as Greeley on the map of the United States. Not one of the Town Board, who ordered the place to go into mourning and the flag to hang at half-mast for five days, gave a cent save A. Z. Salomon. Some may call him a Jew and, in the sense that he is a descendant of the race that founded the Christian religion, he is. But he was the most public spirited merchant Greeley ever had.

It will also be seen that not one of the committee of reception put down a dime to the subscription. Talk is cheap, and those who are the most profuse with it are usually the closest with their cash.

It will be seen too, that the names of our leading politicians and professional men are conspicuous by their absence. Hawks & Scott are the only ones that have held a town or county office, the former as Mayor and the latter as County Judge. It may be farther said that the subscriptions of Oscar Eaton and T. F. Thompson were given because the former lost a brother and the latter a son at the White River massacre, and their names were to be on the monument.

However, after the donation of the portrait of Horace Greeley was made, as before related, a subscription was set on foot to procure a similar one of N. C. Meeker. The sum to be raised was $100. J. M. Wallace, president of the First National bank, started this movement with a subscription of $10. Mr. Asch, an artist, then living in Greeley, executed the portrait and it now hangs up in the High School, facing that of his friend whose last words three days before his death to N. C. Meeker, were, "*I have faith in the Colony and in you.*" The images of these two benignant faces look down upon our youth as they sit preparing themselves for the duties and responsibilities of life.

Meantime Mrs. Meeker, becoming tired of waiting for the people of Greeley to raise a monument to her husband's memory, has contracted with Greenlee & Co., of Denver, for a Scotch granite monument which, with inscriptions, will cost about $525, and will be erected sometime this spring or coming summer at the cemetery.

Three of his children also lie by his side. George, who died of consumption at Evans, April 8, 1870, aged 22 years. Josephine, who died at Washington, December 30, 1882, aged 25, and Mary A. Meeker Fullerton, who died in Greeley February 22, 1883, aged 29 years.

Three survive him, Mrs. Arvilla D. Meeker, his wife, now aged about 78, still bright in mind and cheerful in spirit, though infirm of body and quite lame from a limb broken before she left here for the agency.

Ralph, the eldest son, and now about 44 years old, has just returned from London where he was helping to edit the English issue of *The New York Herald.* He has long been engaged on that paper. He was its war correspondent during the last war between Russia and Turkey. He seems to be a successful writer for the daily press, bright, vivacious and to the point.

Mrs. Rozene Meeker Skewes lives in Greeley with her mother. Her husband, Edward Skewes, is a miner and metallurgist by profession, and only occasionally makes visits to Greeley. He is exceedingly kind and considerate to the old lady. He is a man of wide reading and general information, and reveres the memory of his father-in-law, N. C. Meeker. Mrs. Skewes has much of the talent of her father in the way of expressing pointedly her views. She lectured about the Indians after the massacre and had original opinions about this race and how it ought to be managed by the government. It ought here also to be said that Miss Josephine delivered at quite a number of places in the state a lecture on her experiences as a captive among the Indians. Her narrative was highly picturesque and interesting. She was a young woman of superior mental endowment and noble, genuine character. She had a bright trait of quaint originality about her. Senator Teller procured her a place in the Interior Department and she was his private secretary at the time of her death. She made hosts of friends in the National Capital and left many here to mourn her early death. She died of pneumonia. The family inherit weak lungs.

Mrs. Meeker draws a pension of $500 a year. Mrs. Price and Mrs. Post the same. Josephine Meeker had a like pension while she lived.

George L. Shepard, T. F. Thompson and Mrs. Eaton get $200 each. George T. Dresser got the same until his decease, but, as we have seen, his widow does not get it. These pensions are all paid out of the annuities of the White River Utes as a punishment for the massacre.

The final outcome of the massacre will now be related. A commission was appointed by the Interior Department, at the head of which were Generals Hatch and Adams. The former had a military force in the southwestern part of the state. Negotiations were opened up at Los Pinos agency. The object was to have the Utes give up those concerned in the massacre. General Hatch told Ouray that the attack on Thornburg would be called a fair fight and no harm was intended to be done those who took part in it, but those who had murdered innocent, unarmed men at the agency should be given up for trial and punished if guilty. The women had named twelve White River Utes whom they knew had taken part in the massacre. Chief Ouray objected to take the testimony of women against men. It was contrary to Indian customs.

An attempt was made to get the Indians to testify as to who were guilty of the massacre, but no one could be found to testify under oath that he knew anything about it. Ouray defended with ability his people, said these White River Utes have all directly or indirectly been engaged in the massacre and you cannot compel a man to testify against himself. Both Generals Hatch and Adams became tired at last, and ordered Chief Ouray to have the twelve men named by the women brought in for trial or he would move forwards his army. Then there was a serious time, given thus in the journals of the day:

"A death silence fell upon everything. Nothing was said and no one moved for a few minutes. Then Colorow lighted a long pipe and each Indian present drew his knife and laid it on his knee. In the councils of the Utes, when the question of peace or war is hanging in the balance, this practice is followed during the discussion, and should war be decided upon, the blades of the knives are locked together in the air, the pipe dashed to the floor, and a war song sung.

"In this instance, just as the pipe had gotten around the semicircle of Indians, Colorow, who had filled and lighted the pipe and passed it to the next man without smoking himself, rose from his seat, glanced at the Utes, and drawing himself up to his full height, jerked his belt around in front of him, drew from its sheath a knife and cast it on the floor in front, where it stuck and quivered. Each Indian present dropped his hand down to his waist and laid it upon his knife or revolver. Each white did the same, and the two parties remained in this position, each urging the glittering gage of battle and each waiting an agressive movement on the part of the other.

"Had Hatch not made the direct issue then and there, nothing would have been accomplished. But for an instant his boldness placed the commission in terrible danger. The result hung upon a thread, and one word would have precipitated a terrible contest which would have ended in the death of every white man in the room. Twenty-five Indians to six whites were terrible odds, and the fifteen soldiers in the next room could not have gotten into the room in time to rescue the endangered commission. Finally Ouray spoke:

"'We cannot deliver up to you these Indians unless they are to be tried at Washington. They must not be tried in Colorado. The Colorado people are all our enemies, and to give our men up to be tried in this state would be as if we gave them up, knowing that they would be hung instantly.

"'We will bring these men here for you to see, and those whom you decide to be guilty shall be taken to Washington, and the President shall determine their guilt or innocence. Douglas will have to go. None of us deny that he was engaged in the White River troubles, and you shall decide who else is to go. Upon this condition and no others will we deliver these Indians.'

"'How long will it take to bring these men here?' asked Hatch.

"'About a week,' returned Ouray. 'They will have to take their own time.'

"'We will accept the proposition as far as bringing the Utes here is concerned, and we will telegraph to Secretary Schurz asking about the trial at Washington,' replied Hatch.

"Jack and Colorow were instantly sent off by Ouray to the camp of the hostiles, promising that they would have the twelve Indians in five days, and all the other Utes except Ouray left the room immediately.

"Then Ouray arose and spoke, again reiterating his statement that the Utes could not get justice in Colorado, and could only get it in Washington. 'You three,' pointing to Hatch, Adams and Valais, the legal adviser, 'are all my enemies. I am one against three. You hate me. You are residents of Colorado and New Mexico and a French devil (alluding to Valais), I have not one friend among you. You will not give me justice, and that is why I want to go to Washington, where I will at least have one friend.'"

It seemed surprising to people that Ouray, who had done so much for the recovery of the captives and had ordered the war stopped on the part of the White River Utes, should now turn round and defend the murderers, for of the guilt of a number of them he could entertain no doubt. It may be said that all he wanted was a fair trial for his people. I think he wanted more. He looked upon himself as their advocate, and like any engaged lawyer, wanted to have his clients come off, whether guilty or not. No doubt he had not the nice discernment that could make a crime out of murdering the agent and his employes—but a virtue out of killing Thornburg and his men. To the Indian the man who had asked the soldiers to come along and help him was as guilty as those who had answered his request, and I do not see by what code of ethics the Indian was not right in this view. It appears to the writer that the Indians should be punished for making unprovoked attacks upon our troops, who are not in the Indian country for the purpose of making war, but as a sort of police force. They are officers of the law, and when they are attacked, those doing so should have the same treatment as those who resist civil officers. This way of managing affairs would soon either exterminate the Indians or make them behave themselves. This, after all, would be only a peace policy, as it is the custom of civil life. But the absurd theory upon which the Indians have been managed precludes this way of viewing things. If he were brought under the laws of the United States and made amenable to them, then the above treatment would be consistent; but so long as each tribe is treated with as if it had autonomy and a sort of independent nationality, not to be ruled over but to have treaties made with it and observed, in pretense at least, there must be kept up the show of recognizing this autonomy and regarding a certain territory as belonging to the tribe. Hence, when Thornburg's force entered the White River reservation, the Indians, according to theory, had a right to attack it as an army of invasion, and the punishment of the Utes for resisting this invasion could not be the same as for insurrection, but according to the rules and usages of war. But the presence at all of the agent and his employes was quite an anomaly and upsets the theory of the farce of autonomy. This rests upon quite another theory, viz: that the Indians are wards of the nation and are to be fed, clothed, and educated until they become self-sustaining. This theory requires that those who assume this guardianship, enforce obedience and have on hand the instrumentalities for this purpose. The Indian is a sort of ward that at times needs the whip, as well as moral suasion and pie and cake, to coax him along in the way that his guardian wants him to go. The first theory should be utterly abandoned, but still it cannot be without bad faith to the treaties, so-called. Of course, whenever there is an outbreak the treaty is broken, and cannot be binding on the United States so far as relates to those concerned in the outbreak. These outbreaks are usually provoked, not by the government directly but by the adjacent settlers, who are amenable to the government, and the fault is usually on both sides. In fact white settlers on the frontier and Indians are brought by the necessities of their situation into relations of conflict, and we must expect invasions of ill-defined rights on both sides so long as need and greed dominate the conduct of men, whether white or red-skinned. Still it appears to the writer that these Ute Indians could have been put on the way to civilization after the massacre. Jack and Colorow, as well as Douglas, ought to have been told that they had violated the treaties and that now the nation had come to the conclusion that they would have to go in the road that it thought best for them and not in their own. A thorough man as resolute as Mr. Meeker should have been set to work pretty much in his way to teach them to become self-sustaining, and at his hand should have been placed the needed military force to keep them in subjection. They should be kept completely disarmed, and not allowed to hunt or go away from the scene of their labors. If the people of the United States were only half as much in earnest about civilizing the Indian as they were in subduing the rebellion, the thing would be done in less than a generation. But as we asked before "Is it worth while?" Would the Indian civilized be any more desirable as a part of the population of the United States of fifty years hence than so many white men of English, Irish or German descent who are to take their place? If he amalgamated, would it not be to the detriment of the race; if he did not, would he with his race characteristics be ahead of the white man? This is what is vaguely felt by those who have to do with the Indian. Hence there was far less demand at bottom on the part of the people of Colorado that the Indians should be punished for the massacre, than that the Ute should leave our borders.

Colorow and Jack were exonerated for bringing on the fight with Thornburg and freely confessed it when they learned that they would suffer nothing. So they undertook to bring in the twelve men whom the women had sworn had been engaged in the massacre. But they could get none to come in save Douglas who was only indirectly engaged in it. Some were sent to Washington, and nothing was done at last with the murderers, except Douglas, who was confined at Fort Leavenworth for a time and then liberated, and died insane soon afterward, but the White River Utes were moved to Utah. It is said that Ouray would have fought himself rather than consent to having all the Utes moved to the Indian Territory. The result would have been a general Indian war which would have cost millions of treasure and thousands of lives, for it would have been no small undertaking to subdue these mountain Indians in their native fastnesses. But of course such a war could have but one issue. Ammunition would soon have failed the Utes, and a great part would have been exterminated. On the whole one is compelled to admire the conduct of Ouray in standing up for his people. He did about as a leading Highland Chief of two hundred years ago would have done. Such a one we know would have been just as far from delivering up the robbers and murderers belonging to his tribes to the English for trial and execution as Ouray was. The English changed all that when it completely subdued the Highlander by taking away his rude autonomy and breaking up his tribal relations and making him amenable to English law. He ceased to be so interesting, but he also ceased to be a terror to his peaceable, orderly neighbors across the border. But to do this would be non-American and "so English, you know." We, too, must follow in the tracks of our own traditions, come of it what will.

After the massacre Ralph Meeker was placed in a somewhat delicate position. He had to defend the character and intentions of his father against the Eastern press, the greater part of which laid the blame of it rather upon the agent than upon the Indians. On the other hand as correspondent of *The New York Herald*, he had defended Sioux Indians and attacked the frauds of Delano, their agent. The fiercest of the Colorado frontiersmen thought that his leniency towards the Indians was tame and unbecoming the son of a father murdered by them, and a mother and sister outraged. In an interview with a reporter of *The St. Louis Globe-Democrat* we get his views at full and we here give the major part of them to our readers, and ask them, in the calm of the present hour if they are not reasonable and quite sanguinary enough?

"'What is your general impression concerning the peace policy which has been adopted by the government towards the Utes?"

"'That is a hard question to answer. The British government and the Mormons have peace policies, and they are a success. In Trinidad, papers in the archives show that in less than one hundred years after the landing of Columbus, the Jesuits traveled from the Isthmus all along the foot of the Rocky Mountains, and no Indian hurt them. Father De Smet spent thirty years among the Sioux. He never lied to them; and they never killed him, because they knew him so well. My father was a stranger to the Utes and he was misunderstood. Many white men slandered him, but had he lived long enough with them, and had power to carry out his plans, the Indians would have thought differently of him. To be an agent is one thing, to be a missionary is quite another. But it is an unchangeable law of the universe, among animals and men, that square dealing and decency always win in the end. Wild men cannot be managed by mere talk. The Indians have lost faith in American civilization and American whiskey. I believe at first they need a gentle, humane despotism!

"'Have you any idea that they can ever be coaxed or persuaded that a life of agriculture and industry is better than the nomadic one which they now lead ?

"'The Hudson Bay Company has employed Indians a hundred years as hunters. They pay for the work done. It occupies their minds, and they are so busy with their business that they forget to growl and mutiny and shoot white people, because the whites find them employment. A man with wild nature with nothing to do is dangerous anywhere. Deviltry goes out when work comes in. Hire the Indians for money, which is always paid; then they will learn to work for themselves and their children will not be born lazy.'

"'Do you think civilization can be obtained without the enforcement of law among them?

"'The Indians should be held accountable to law the same here as in Canada. When they kill, enforce the law; when the whites kill them enforce the law also. Make them understand that they will be hanged for murder, and they will keep the peace.'

"'Are we not justified in saying that there exists in the Indian some inherent characteristic which precludes the idea of their ever being civilized.'

"'No. The Indians are preferable to the Fourth Ward bummers of New York. The Ute massacre is no worse than the massacre of the Chisholm family by leading citizens, or the St. Bartholomew massacre by the blue-blooded aristocrats of France. We all come from the ground and were made of dust.' * * *

"'Don't you think that the tribal relations that now exist, must give way to positive law ?'

"'The Indians ought to be subject to the laws of the United States, the same as other people, Chinese, Sandwich Islanders or citizens of New Jersey. But chiefs under the new conditions might still hold their superior relations to the common Indian.'

"'Are not these peace talks a kind of catering to the vanity of the Indians ?'

"'They evidently place the relations of the Indians to the whites upon a wrong and dangerous basis. Law, citizenship and stern unyielding justice should be the basis of peace.'

"'The result is generally, is it not, an impression that their style of oratory is superior to that of the pale faces?'

"'They think that they know more of warfare than the whites, and they look upon educated contractors who sell them moldy flour as mean white trash. Like most American orators they are conceited. A good Gatling gun with plenty of ammunition in the hands of an honest man would give them a wholesome opinion of the superiority of agriculture and civilization over promiscuous massacres.'"

Ouray, seeing the hatred of the people of Colorado towards his people, was in favor of having them moved out of the borders of that state, and labored in the convention that met for that purpose to secure this end; but died before he could see it accomplished. His death took place in 1881 and of his character we take the following from Frank Hall's second volume of the History of Colorado, just published.

"In his ordinary bearing his manner was courtly and gentle, and he was extremely fond of meeting and conversing with cultivated white men, with whom he was a genial companion, compelling their respect and favor by the broad enlightenment of his views. In his habits he was a model; never using tobacco, abhorring whiskey, and only taking a sip of wine when in company of those who were indulging, and then only as a matter of courtesy to them. He never swore, nor used obscene or vulgar language, was a firm believer in the Christian religion, and about two years before his death had united with the Methodist church."

Here are related some anecdotes of Ouray, and the historian adds:

"The foregoing incidents seem to illustrate the sterling honesty and the general character of this remarkable chief, the statesman of his nation, and the only man worthy of that high distinction in the history of that people, (the Utes.) Though a warrior of renown, brave to rashness in battle against the natural enemy, he comprehended that the Caucasian had come to stay and to overspread the land; that resistance would be useless, and only result in the extermination of the red man."

In concluding this chapter a final word will now be said about N. C. Meeker. For the most part he has been allowed to speak for himself, but the lips are now silent, the hand that so regularly drove the pen is still forever. It is becoming in his friend to defend him, who is now for us in this vale of flesh at least, only a memory, from unjust aspersion. The reader not familiar with all the circumstances from the first, will especially ask if the character was so noble and deserving as a perusal of the foregoing pages would imply, why was it that there was no more generous response to the invitation for a subscription to erect a monument? As the writer took the lead in this matter he can answer that better, perhaps, than any one else. In soliciting subscriptions he knows the reasons given for their denial, also he could easily guess, when no reasons were given, knowing the relations that each man had stood in to the colony and its president, as, also, to the editor of *The Greeley Tribune*.

As president of the board he bore the brunt of the blame of refusing selfish and unjust demands of individuals which would have been prejudicial to the interest of the whole. About the time that General Cameron left the board, he remarked to the writer, who was then entering upon his duties as a member of it, that corporations were far more liable to suffer from unjust dealing than individuals. Men will take it as a much greater discourtesy if you stand up against them for the rights of a corporation than they will if you do for your own. He said that he had had opprobrium enough in that line, and therefore had refused to be a candidate for re-election. Besides, Mr. Meeker had no gracious, suave way of denying these unjust solicitations. His looks said if his words did not that "The thing you ask is preposterous, unjust and absurd, and if you had either common sense or sense of right, you would not mention such a thing." The party went away hurt and laid it up against him. Then there were the half-hearted time-servers who were offended by the thoroughness of his contempt for intemperate men who came and lived among us, and on every occasion showed their disregard for our principles and in fact took pains to abuse the Puritanical ethics and manners of the leaders of those days. Mr. Meeker had invited only temperate and temperance men to join the colony. It was an impertinence for others to come here and especially to brag of their deviation from temperance principles and practices. He had the largest charity for men who were the victims of this habit and who deplored it and were ashamed of it. He was quite willing that Greeley should be an asylum for these, but not that men who gloried in their shame should be treated with consideration and given office. In fact these latter made it unfit for a refuge for those who had fled here for safety, and we owed it quite as much to these as ourselves that there should be the least possible temptation, and that the voluntary practice of this vice be branded with opprobrium. Hence all the tipplers and their friends became Mr. Meeker's enemies.

Then again the politicians were "down on him" for reasons which we have seen, but may here be profitably recapitulated. Nearly everybody in the colony at the start was a Republican. But not all were followers of that party because of a *name*. Some had become

Republicans because this was the humanitarian progressive party, the name in itself being to them no better than that of Democrat. Immediately upon Lee's surrender at Appomattox there arose in the Republican party representatives of two lines of treatment of the conquered South, the one of severity and the other of leniency, and it is remarkable that the abolitionists of the early days were largely on the side of displaying magnanimity towards not only the rank and file of the Southern people, in which all were agreed, but also towards the leaders. The only marked exception to this was Thaddeus Stevens. He advocated his gospel of vengeance with an insanity of vehemence that shows his opposition to slavery to have arisen from hatred of the slaveholders rather than from compassion towards the slaves. On the contrary, the attitude taken by Charles Sumner and Horace Greeley proves that they were not only genuine philanthropists but far-seeing statesmen. Any man who carefully studied affairs at the South, prior to and during the war, ought to have been able to see the absurdity of laying the blame on the prominent leaders. To be sure there were Union men who were not at all to blame for the rebellion, and these should, at the close of the war, have been remunerated for their losses and sacrifices far better than they were. But the whole body of the Southern people who went heart and hand into the rebellion and resisted the armies of the Union at every point for four years were as guilty, if guilt there was, as the leaders. Indeed, to single them out for punishment was like the crude method of the Romans in punishing mutiny, selecting every tenth man by lot for execution. The writer has always regarded Horace Greeley's act in bailing out of prison Jefferson Davis as one of the most sublime acts ever done by an American citizen. How well the people of the South loved Jefferson Davis until his death is now a matter of history. The writer had an opportunity of seeing the enthusiasm of their attachment to him at the opening of the New Orleans Exposition. From the moment that he entered the door of the vast audience hall until he had traversed it to the speaker's platform there was one wild continuous cheering, shouting and waving of handkerchiefs. In fact, the people of the South took it, and justly, as an insult to their intelligence and patriotism to have the secession movement imputed solely to their leaders.

Besides, it was a great mistake to believe, as some of the Republican party did believe, that the South could be ruled by negroes and carpet-baggers. Intelligence, pluck and audacity will rule in any country, and this can only be prevented by the extermination of those displaying these qualities, and not by subjecting them to fines, pains and penalties. To attempts of this kind are to be attributed many of the troubles that afflicted the reconstructed South, and the policy of Greeley early adopted, and which finally had to be adopted, would have saved the nation from many chapters of horror.

So when Horace Greeley was nominated by the Cincinnati Convention as a liberal Republican candidate for the presidency, a goodly portion of the people of Greeley would have voted for him or rather for the electors of his party, if Colorado had been a state. They were not only nearly every man Republicans but *New York Tribune* or Horace Greeley Republicans. But the other Republicans of the county belonged to the coercion, revenge wing, and all the politic, place-hunting, Greeley Republicans went with them, or, as they term it, remained loyal to the party whatever principles they might believe in. Of course Mr. Meeker, in taking the side of the Liberal Republicans and their leader Horace Greeley, mortally offended the regulars; for when he embraced a cause he never went half-way. He published the defiant answer of Horace Greeley to the New York Loyal League which had dismissed him because he bailed out Jefferson Davis, and he called this answer sublime, and thus gave offense to such soldiers as had gone into the army with no higher motives than to take a hand in "hanging Jeff. Davis to a sour apple tree." But the writer believes that fully a half of the old soldiers who came to Greeley at first were Liberal Republicans. These have never constituted more than one-fifth of the voting population. Of those who remained in the regular party at this time we may mention R. A. Cameron, J. C. Shattuck and C. A. White; on the other side A. J. Wilber, J. Max. Clark, M. J. Hogarty, Joseph Murray, Abner Baker and the writer. Upon the death of Horace Greeley, General Cameron not only pronounced a eulogy at the public meeting called upon the occasion, but preached a sermon on the following Sunday at the Congregational church in commemoration of his great services to humanity. It was safe to praise him now that he was dead. The reader has seen the attitude of J. C. Shattuck towards this great man's memory fourteen years after his death, from the part of his speech we published in relation to the presentation of the portrait of Horace Greeley to the town, by Sinclair Tousey. He there freely confesses that Horace Greeley was right in his forecast of the future, but that he was ahead of his time. This is equivalent to saying that he was able to pluck from his heart the demon of revenge then, J. C. Shattuck *et al*, only fourteen years later.

Well, from all this chivalry to principle, this opposition to injustice, this outspoken denunciation of vice, crime, and intemperance, Mr.

Meeker has come to be regarded by many as an honest fool. The fool in their estimation is he who fails to win for himself power, pelf, or place, and downright honesty is no doubt a hindrance in either line of occupation. Mr. Meeker was honest in a far higher sense than merely trying to meet and fully acknowledge his pecuniary obligations. Perhaps some men were more scrupulously exact and punctual in this respect than he—failure in his case arising from untoward circumstances. But he was honest to a degree that few men attain of expressing his honest convictions in spite of consequences even when he fully foresaw them. In a certain direction, and that by no means a common one, he had a very considerable ability, and that was in making just and deeply penetrating criticisms upon human life, manners, character and conduct. As a writer he belongs to the school of Montaigne, whom he studied as a model, and to Emerson, who said in a public lecture about the time of his death, that he always read with interest and profit the letters of N. C. Meeker. But we have given our readers enough of his best writing to enable them to judge for themselves in this matter. Still one word more needs to be said. The writer was perhaps longer and more intimately acquainted with N. C. Meeker than any man in the colony. He was on the Colony Board of trustees with him eight years. In many lines of policy they differed and the writer always found that N. C. Meeker was ready to listen and argue points dispassionately and to yield to the better reason. Indeed, he never appeared to us an obstinate man except when it was a case of moral principle as clear to him as the multiplication table, when he was unyielding. The writer has often been on the other side with him in debate and always found him good-natured. He never refused an article of his admission to his paper, however much it might be opposed to his view. To questions of speculations he extended a large hospitality, and often provoked discussion on the part of his readers by taking the weakest side of social or scientific problems that had two sides to them. But on certain moral questions he was intolerant and of right ought to have been. Moreover he had no art of sugar-coating unpalatable truths. Still, he had the instinct of clear and forcible presentation, which often conquered assent in the face of dislike. On the other hand it must be acknowledged that in some instances, brought to the notice of the writer, he treated with discourtesy strangers who deserved quite another kind of reception. In such cases it is charitable to suppose that his temper was suffering from the harrassing circumstances, in which we have seen him placed. The reader of this history has more fully before him the extent and the reasons for this financial embarrassment than the people in those days had, and can therefore more fully condone his conduct.

Truth compels us to say farther here what may appear harsh, and certainly if the writer had any regard to policy would be left unsaid. It is well known that N. C. Meeker did not accept Evangelical Christianity as a system of belief. He had a high regard for the morals taught by the writers of the New Testament. But he did not believe that man was created a pure and holy creature, had fallen from that high estate, that the guilt of this fall of a so-called representative first ancestor was imputed to the whole human race, and that for this guilt alone they would be eternally punished if they did not accept the atonement made for them by a substitute, of which nine-tenths of the race that have lived and died up to the present hour could not have heard. What may be the fate of those who have never heard of the name of Jesus or of the Evangelical plan of salvation is just now a question mooted by a few who stand on the verge of heterodoxy, but there can be but one opinion among orthodox people about his fate in the other world who, hearing deliberately, rejects. Still worse is his plight who having once put his hand to the plow, deliberately draws back. "He that despised Moses' law died without mercy under two or three witnesses; of how much sorer punishment suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy, who, having trod underfoot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant wherewith he was sanctified an unholy thing, and hath done despite to the spirit of grace ? For we know him that hath said, vengeance belongeth to me and I will repay, saith the Lord; and again the Lord shall judge his people. It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God." The above is not the language of John Calvin, nor of St. Augustine, but of the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews, who ends the chapter from which we have quoted thus : "Now the just shall live by faith, but if any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him. But we are not of them who draw back into perdition, but of them who believe to the saving of the soul." The chapter next the last ends with this verse, "For our God is a consuming fire."

It is true that the Campbellite sect, to which Mr. Meeker for a time belonged, was far from being considered at that time an evangelical denomination; but the apotheosis by the Christian world of James G. Garfield, who was once a preacher of the sect and who may be said with certainty to have become no more orthodox in his views towards the close of his life, now places the opinions of this branch of the Christian church upon a more respectable if not upon a more logically orthodox basis. Hence it may be considered nearly as unpardonable to have fallen away from Campbellitism as from Presbyterianism, the hurt being proportionate to the height from which one falls. But whatever our reasoning in the premises be, the fact remains, staring those who deliberately reject the Evangelical plan of salvation in the face, that the most liberal creed that has been devised by any of these denominations offers no hope in the hereafter to such unbeliever, however conscientious he may think he is in his convictions, or however exemplary in his conduct. There remains for him "but a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation which shall devour the adversaries" as the same ancient document before quoted advises us. This being the case, how inconsistent to honor the memory of him here on earth whom their God is punishing to all eternity in the life beyond? Hence we should not be surprised to know that only two belonging to the churches subscribed anything for a monument to N. C. Meeker. These were Judge James C. Scott and Morris Hastings. Scott however gives his subscription rather as one of a firm than individually, the signature being Hawks & Scott. Morris Hastings, sexton at the Greeley cemetery, had brought to the notice of the writer the fact that strangers who visited there made the inquiry before named, and that he was ashamed at our apparent ingratitude and asked him to start the movement for the monument. He then was on the borderland between orthodoxy and liberalism, to which latter he has gone over. There is one other church member's name on the list, that of T. F. Thompson, but that was there because his son Arthur's name was to be on the monument, being one of the victims of the White River massacre.

It will be noticed that the name of no woman is on the list. This does not arise from the fact that Mr. Meeker was disliked by that sex more than by his own. Indeed his enthusiasm in certain moral directions made him almost revered by the best women in the place who also were nearly all church members. The amiable inconsistency of this sex would have seen no incongruity in honoring by a monument here on earth the man whom their God was at the same moment punishing in Gehenna. It is presumably true that not one in a hundred of them believes any such a thing, and that they never carry out their creeds, if they really know what they are, to their particular individual consequences. Perpetual torment at the hands of the devil and his angels, for amiable, enthusiastic reformers who have done ten times as much to ameliorate the human lot than any of our brethren here within our own particular fold, may be accepted as a general statement, but when it comes to include Charles Sumner, Horace Greeley or N. C. Meeker definitely and personally, it is shrunk back from with horror. But the only loop-hole by which such a personal application can be evaded is that God by His Holy Spirit may have worked the conversion of such in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye. But if He does so in one case, why not in all? and this knocks the sides as well as the bottom out of the bottomless pit. The fact is, the feelings of men, but more especially of women, are better than their creeds, and had these latter had as much control of the purse as the other sex, they would have subscribed liberally for a monument to N. C. Meeker. In truth those who loved him best were not those best able to respond to the call through their purses. The man who has succeeded in making wealth is apt to despise him who has failed. For them there is but one kind of success. But N. C. Meeker has attained a success greater than any of them. They may refuse to contribute a cent to the granite monument proposed to be raised in Lincoln Park more distinctly in recognition of him as the founder of our town and colony, but, nevertheless, they too, will they, nil they, are raising a monument to him more enduring than brass. Every brick block, every church, every schoolhouse, every beautiful residence reared in Greeley is a monument to N. C. Meeker. Every tree planted, every lawn clothed in grass and bordered with flowers, every field waving with grain in and around Greeley is a monument to N. C. Meeker. Every bird that sings in the branches of our trees that border the fields and streets once covered with cactus, every bee that hums in our clover lawns or fields of alfalfa sings or hums a requiem to the ashes of N. C. Meeker.

## CHAPTER XXV.

R. A. CAMERON AND H. T. WEST—THEIR LETTERS TO N. C. MEEKER—BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF R. A. CAMERON AFTER LEAVING THE COLONY—MRS. R. A. CAMERON—H. T. WEST, DR. CHARLES EMERSON, CHARLES BUCKINGHAM, J. B. FLOWER, JAMES BENEDICT, B. F. JOHNSON, W. E. PABOR AND HIS WRITINGS—J. HERON FOSTER, SAMUEL BLODGETT, WILLIAM FOOTE, JR.,—F. H. ROUS AND FAMILY—A. D. MOODIE AND FAMILY—B. S. LA GRANGE—M. J. HOGARTY AND FAMILY—HENRY DE VOTIE—ARTHUR HOTCHKISS—JOHN THOMPSON—J. E. BROWNELL—MR. AND MRS. G. W. BUELL—ALFRED BAXTER—THE ATKINSONS—ALLEN RAMSAY—THOMAS MIMMACK—THE INMAN FAMILY—THE DIXON BROTHERS—DR. GEORGE PYBURN—JOSEPH MOORE—E. J. CARVER—J. J. ARMSTRONG AND FAMILY—JAMES ORR—THOMAS G. MACY—SAMUEL GRAHAM—DR. W. P. WELCH—JOHN LEAVY—ELI HALL—NIAGARA HALL—JAMES HENRY—A. W. HANCOCK—JUDGE CLARK—DR. J. S. SCOTT—JUDGE J. C. SCOTT—DANIEL CARPENTER—WILLIAM M'CLELLAN—OVID PLUMB—DANIEL HAWKS AND JAMES TUCKERMAN—AUGUST BOYE—DR. A. L. CAMP—W. H. DELBRIDGE—J. C. KENDEL—C. W. WULFJEN—THE GALE FAMILIES—A. T. BACON—ROBERT HALE—THE CURRIERS—E. K. PACKARD—A. GILCHRIST—ROBERT KENNISON—PETER BROWN—CHARLES WALLACE—ANDREW SCOTT—S. B. WRIGHT—B. D. HARPER AND WIFE—OLIVER HOWARD AND FAMILY—GREELEY LITERARY WOMEN—DR. I. B. BARCLAY—MR. AND MRS. NORCROSS AND FAMILY—DR. GEORGE LAW—HIS ARTICLE IN "THE GREELEY TRIBUNE" ON EARLY COLONIAL EXPERIENCES—J. F. FEZER—DR. JESSE HAWES—HIS TREATISE ON CAHAHA PRISON—CONCLUSION.

THE man next in importance in founding Union Colony, after N. C. Meeker and Horace Greeley, was undoubtedly R. A. Cameron and after him H. T. West. To the first named it has been proven the honor belongs of the conception of the scheme and the outlining of a policy to be pursued in the settlement. Horace Greeley gave it the prestige of his great name, endorsed its projector, consented to be its first treasurer, and advanced money to purchase colony lands when money was needed to build the ditches. To all three of the locating committee belongs the credit of making a judicious selection, partly due to good judgment but partly also to unforeseen circumstances. Upon Cameron and West devolved the difficult task of putting the scheme into practical operation. We have blamed a part of the policy at first adopted, and have offered, it appears to us, abundant proof to show that it was not open, candid, or calculated to command the confidence of men who were strangers to the leaders whom the first arrived colonists found on the ground. We have given it as our opinion, that much of the dissatisfaction of those early days would have been avoided if N. C. Meeker had been here from the first, and have related the general disappointment expressed on not finding him here on arriving. We have in our possession letters both from R. A. Cameron and H. T. West written to N. C. Meeker while in New York, showing the anxiety of these gentlemen for his speedy return. These have been put in the hands of the writer by Mrs. Meeker, and perhaps should have been quoted so far as relevant to our inquiry in the part of this work devoted more particularly to a discussion of the opposition met by the leaders, but are better inserted here than omitted. They show quite vividly the difficulties which the leaders encountered here, and the great confidence they had in the presence of N. C. Meeker here to help them out of these perplexities; thus acknowledging by implication the great influence of his name and fame in setting the movement on foot, and that their names and work were inferior and subordinate.

The first letter is dated at Evans, April 30th, 1870, and is from H. T. West. It relates largely to the death and burial of Mr. Meeker's son George. But in addition it advises that Horace Greeley make a quit claim deed of the colony lands to the colony trustees. This was one of the things that the colonists disputed the propriety of doing, since the original compact made Mr. Greeley hold the lands in trust until deeded to individual members; and the bulk of the colonists had more confidence in the integrity of Mr. Greeley than in that of these five men, strangers, except perhaps N. C. Meeker. He farther advises Mr. Meeker to bring or send the records of the doings of the Executive Committee at New York, as a misunderstanding had arisen between him and Mr. Cameron about the following point: "I have always had an idea, and I think it is the true one, that all of our members are obliged by the tenor of the constitution to buy a lot and improve it. The General thinks not, and says that the subject was discussed in executive council and should be matter of record."

Those wishing to decide the question here raised by Mr. West can do so by referring to the New York constitution in appendix B.

The next is from R. A. Cameron, dated at Greeley, May 5th, and from it we quote:

"It seems important that you should be here; not that we are not doing all we can, but people wish to see *you*, and consult with you about many things arising from day to day. * * *

"People arriving are illy provided with tents and shelter, and seem surprised that lumber yards, hotels, stores, etc., are not on the ground. We have all kinds of people to satisfy. Most of them having small means are disappointed at the high prices which everything costs. Then our surveying goes slowly, and it is difficult for them to locate their places, and thus get them at work and satisfied."

And again, under date of May 7th:

"After a long cold wind storm the morning appears warm and pleasant; but not so with all here. We have some soreheads and malcontents. Some growl that we are so far from the mountains, some that the grass is so short, and some that we cannot give a quarter section next the town. We have told them that they can have a quarter section by going beyond the railroad limits; but some few appear to think each can have a quarter section next the town plat; some are ready to return, and we the majority who are satisfied with the country think best to procure them return colony tickets and let them go back.

"Do hurry back as quick as you can and help quiet the over sanguine and now disappointed."

From H. T. West of the same date we take the following:

"I think we have about one hundred and twenty-five persons on the ground. They are people of all sorts, and some of them are grumblers; and one or two who, because they cannot get a quarter section quite near town, and because the constitution is not in every respect adhered to, are trying to breed discord. We need your counsel and advice, and it is with pleasure that we hear that you will start back soon. You will meet with a hearty welcome."

It is worthy of note here that the number expecting to get a quarter section near town is reduced to two. These had evidently gone or changed their demand before the arrival of the writer. as he saw no one who had any such expectation.

The next is written the 9th, and is signed by both Cameron and West: "Your second letter of May 2nd and 4th is at hand, and we are very glad to hear from you. We are very busy and full of perplexities and troubles, and it is our opinion that you should *return at once*. Don't understand by this that there is any trouble that cannot be overcome; but we need your counsel and assistance, and particularly your sanction to new things which we are obliged to say and do, not thought of before.

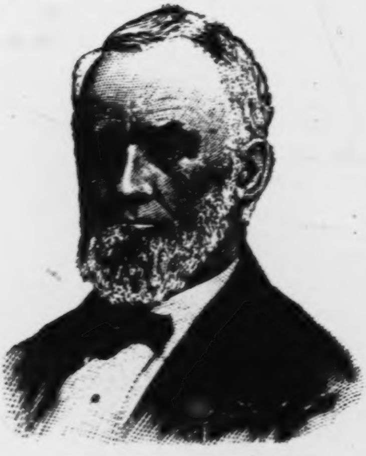
"The supply of lumber is wholly inadequate, and people arriving here under the instructions to bring no tents are complaining bitterly that they find no sufficient shelter from the cold. The price of lumber has risen to $45 per thousand feet, and cannot be procured in sufficient quantities even at that price. Too many people are arriving on the ground depending entirely on work for subsistence, being almost destitute of means, and as there is a great scarcity of every kind of material. they cannot be employed. Men thus without employment, and with limited means become restless and discontented. The Indian scare amounts to nothing. You always have to go from home to hear the news. Eighty-three arrived this P. M., Fisk senior and junior, and Mr. Paul and other good men, some of whom you do not know; and the best men are the best satisfied."

It should be remarked here that the want of means spoken of above was with most only temporary. Many upon hearing that a site was selected rushed here before being able to sell out. They knew that the rule would be, "First come, first served." There was an attempt made to prevent this, but to conciliate those who were here and clamorous, they were allowed to draw and buy lots about as fast as surveyed. So it happened that when Mr. Meeker arrived June 7th he could not get a single lot on Main street, nor a corner business lot anywhere. This accounts for the location of *The Tribune* building. Mr. Meeker was very much annoyed on coming to find that those here had gobbled all the best locations. When the writer arrived three days after the above letter was written, not a business lot was left on Main street. Mr. Meeker used to call attention to the fact that Mr. Cameron had secured for himself and partner, J. B. Flower, the best corner in town, viz: the one on which Union Bank is now situated, while he had to go off on Maple street, on the other side from where his residence lot was situated. However, it is to be said that the executive committee here reserved for Mr. Meeker one of the finest and best situated five-acre lots, and contiguous to it an acre building lot where the family residence now stands. The writer is informed that Mr. Meeker's heirs refused five thousand dollars for this five-acre lot some years ago, although no buildings save a small shanty stable are upon it.

West was more modest than Cameron in grabbing for himself a business location, selecting the one which B. D. Sanborn now owns.

The next letter is written by Mr. West and relates to the purchase of the building in Cheyenne, known after its erection here as Hotel de Comfort. This was purchased on account of the scarcity and high price of new lumber.

The next and last of those put into our possession is also written by Mr. West as secretary of the executive council, which was now nominally managing business, instead of the two gentlemen we have been



DR. CHAS. EMERSON.

discussing. It is dated the 13th of May, 1870, or one day after the arrival of the writer, and hence at the height of the opposition to the manager. It is as follows:

"The Trustees and Executive Committee in council to-day decided that your presence here was absolutely necessary, and instructed me to write you to that effect, and requesting you to bring with you the *full* records of everything done in New York with full list of members, etc. We think it necessary to make a full statement to the members in regard to our doings and intentions, and do not wish to do so until you are present. We have some of the best material in the colony and are hopeful."

From the above, which closes the correspondence, so far as in the possession of this writer, it will be seen the importance all attached to the presence of Mr. Meeker, and wholly upsets the theory of some that his absence was an advantage, since his place was filled by an abler man.

In some respects Mr. Cameron was an abler man. He had more executive ability; he was quick to see a point, and fertile in expedients to meet new and trying emergencies. He readily and gracefully yielded to a heavy pressure—was a man of policy rather than a devotee of principle. West on the other hand was just as obstinate as Mr. Meeker, and even less disposed to hear the arguments of the other side. Hence he was quite unpopular, but had in general a high reputation for integrity and business honor, and had a following of men who admire these qualities.

Mr. West left the colony board before the end of the first year, and General Cameron, as we have seen, at the first election in May, 1871. Both ran for town trustees for the new town organization, and Cameron got the highest vote, 140; and West the lowest, 98. Cameron was made president and West secretary. The former, however, resigned in about three months to accept the place of superintendent of "Fountain Colony," at a salary of $3,000 per annum. West then became president, and did more than any other man to put the town organization in shape.

General Cameron was engaged in the affairs of Fountain Colony for about a year, and then returned to Greeley, but took no prominent part in public affairs. In the spring of 1873 he took a leading part in the formation of the "Agricultural Colony of Fort Collins," of which mention has been made elsewhere, and left this concern a much poorer if not a wiser man. Returned to Greeley, he found no particular employment, but lost some more money in the legal contest that took place between the stockholders and managers of the "Smuggler Mine."

The General as soon as possible disposed of his Greeley property and started off with W. E. Pabor to the Pacific coast with the intention of publishing there a literary magazine. They found little or no encouragement in this undertaking, but stayed long enough to use up the whole of their limited capital. Both parties returned to Colorado poor indeed in this world's goods, but with hearts and hands strong to meet life's now sterner duties and responsibilities. Nothing so tries the stuff of which a man is made as one of these overthrows at the hands of fate, and both bore the "arrows and the slings of outrageous fortune" with equanimity. Nothing is so admirable in the American character as its resilience. A Yankee cast to the earth rebounds like a rubber ball.

On returning to Colorado both took up their residence in Denver. The General soon got a position as inspector in the United States mail service, and made an efficient officer. Mrs. Cameron bore her part in this reversal of fortune with the grace and dignity native to her character. Soon a beautiful home was reared on Broadway and adorned by her own skillful hands.

When Governor Eaton entered upon the duties of his high office General Cameron was appointed warden of the state penitentiary. He engaged in the new duties of this position with that zeal and enthusiasm which are so characteristic of him, and displayed here again his rare executive ability. He undertook extensive prison reform measures, and in them was nobly supported by Mrs. Cameron. A reverse turn in the political wheel brought a Democrat into the Governor's chair, and turned Cameron out of his place as warden, before his plans of prison reform could bear much fruit. But he has the honor of having made an attempt in this humanitarian direction.

Before becoming warden he had purchased a tract of land near Canon City for the purpose of fruit growing, this locality having proved itself the most favorable in Colorado east of the range.

A house has been erected on this fruit farm and Mrs. Cameron and the children remain there while the General has been engaged for some time in "booming" the country on the line of the Denver and Fort Worth railroad. He has been working for a salary for some time, but is now engaged in building up some particular town on the line of this road in which he has a large personal interest; so he may yet come out a millionaire, or be fated to have another reverse like the many he has already experienced.

Incidentally we have spoken of Mrs. R. A. Cameron. In her the General has a noble companion and helper. She is one of the "Flower Girls," as the capable and accomplished daughters of J. B. Flower are familiarly called by the people of Greeley. She, as all her sisters, has the faculty of making her home, whether spacious or humble, attractive to people of thought and refinement. The cordiality of both to their guests is delightful, and one can converse with them freely and fully upon the profoundest subjects of human life and destiny. The deficiency of the General's sight, impaired in the army, has not been for them wholly a misfortune, for it has brought it about that Mrs. Cameron has become for him largely the medium for his reading and study. Hence to some extent she has been to him for eyes. So their married relation has come nearer than usual in attaining Tennyson's ideal:

> "He gain in sweetness and in moral strength,
> Nor lose the wrestling thews that throw the world;
> She gain in mental breadth, nor fail in childward care,
> Nor lose the childlike in the larger mind."

Here a closing word is fitly spoken of H. T. West. He continued in the banking business until some time in 1875 when he went into the coal business with his relatives the Canfields, from whom the town of Canfield, near Erie, is named. They had here the "Rob Roy" coal mine which was then esteemed a valuable property. Mr. West put into the concern $12,500, and also went their security for some $18,000 more. Mr. West run an office for the sale of the coal in Denver, while the Canfields attended to the mining operations. The business proved a failure, Mr. West informs the writer, principally because of the strikes of the miners just at such times as there was good sale for the coal. In the course of two years not only was the capital Mr. West put in the concern eaten up, but his other property was sold at a great sacrifice to meet the securities he had given. Mr. West was not only left penniless but all his property could not satisfy his obligations. This wholly upset him. He was a man proud of his promptness to meet pecuniary obligations, and now untoward circumstances had completely flung him on his back. A fit of severe illness followed, and kept him physically prostrate as well as mentally. But his capable and honorable son, George H., has been able to set him as it were both on his physical and financial feet again, and he is again recovering that elasticity both of step and mental attitude once so characteristic of him. We have seen the prominent part he has lately taken in having the certificate of the colonial organization renewed, and that, too, in spite of a severe attack of the "grippe" undergone the past winter. The writer again acknowledges his indebtedness to him for much of the material which made this history possible in some of its features. Had Mr. West kept steadily at banking in Greeley as he did for five years, he would no doubt be to-day worth more than

$100,000, but would not be in the estimation of the author one whit more worthy as a man.

Following Mr. West it were as well to say a further word of Dr. Charles Emerson. He was the first man of large capital to identify himself with the colony. There is no doubt but that upon the list of colonists that joined at New York are the names of men of extensive capital, but they did not come and take their chances here as Dr. Emerson did. Early during the first summer he was elected treasurer of the colony, instead of Horace Greeley, whose non-residence made his holding that office too inconvenient for us. The doctor held this office some six years, and as the funds on hand were, after the first year, quite inconsiderable, it may be said that the work was done almost gratuitously.

Charles Buckingham also was in the banking business of this firm for some four years, when he went to Boulder, where he still remains, and has had the liberality to donate to the State University, at that place, $2,000 for a library.

Dr. Emerson has been living in Denver for some half dozen years, but his business is largely in the agricultural region below Greeley on the Platte. He is perhaps the most extensive owner of land under irrigation in the state. In one body under the Lower Platte and Beaver he has 5,000 acres in a body. He has also several other large tracts notably near Sterling. These lands he is rapidly seeding down to alfalfa and intends to graze it off with cattle for the most part. He has studied up the question of danger from bloat and thinks if cattle are kept steadily on alfalfa, with free access to both salt and water, there is no danger. As a matter of fact he has had several hundred head running on alfalfa for the past year and has lost none so as the writer knows.

It might be here added that the Doctor is in theory quite the opposite of his practice in regard to land-holding. In fact he believes that land should be nationalized in accordance with the views of Henry George. But so long as law and practice are the other way he believes it just to conform to the ways of the world, until they are amended by general consent. Though he is now some three-quarters of a century old he is actively engaged developing his new lands, and courageously faces the hardships incident to these undertakings away from the comforts of well settled localities. During the summer he is perhaps more than three-fourths the time away from home and in the field, as it were, at the front of civilization.

A farther word will here be said of J. B. Flower, who succeeded Dr. Emerson as treasurer of the colony. Mr. Flower came early in the summer of 1870, and is supposed to have furnished most of the money which carried on the firm of Flower & Cameron. He was no doubt a valuable adviser of the General. He was always distinguished for coolness, caution and sagacity. Few men are endowed with more discretion than he. Mrs. Cameron came with her father and joined the General about the first of June. Had both been here earlier it is to be believed some mistakes would not have been made that were made.

Mr. Flower has served the people well in many capacities, on school boards, town boards and as delegate to political conventions, where his far-seeing sagacity made him valuable for his party and friends. He and his amiable partner, who "have climbed the hill together," are now far on their road back to its foot where the long sleep is likely to be entered on not far apart. They can "depart in peace," so far as solicitude on behalf of their childrens' worldly condition is concerned, all now being in affluent circumstances and loved and honored by hosts of friends.

A more extended mention of Mr. Flower's son-in-law, James F. Benedict, is here appropriate. He has the reputation of being one of our shrewdest men of business. For a long time he was cashier of the Union Bank; and was also some eight years treasurer of the school district. Though a Democrat he was elected treasurer one term for this very Republican county. On the election of Cleveland he was appointed internal revenue officer for the district of Colorado and Wyoming. Since being superseded in that office by J. M. Freeman, he is doing business in Denver, but his family still reside in Greeley. The genial and witty George Adams slipped into Mr. Benedict's shoes as cashier of Union Bank, while the latter was serving his country under Cleveland, and is likely to remain there until his country asks him also some day to step up higher.

Bruce F. Johnson has been president of the Union Bank now nearly ten years, and is in many respects worthy of consideration. He is one of the "59ers'" who has been able to fill for himself a large purse. When the colony came here he was in partnership with G. S. Hill on the Thompson, but dissolved that relation about that time and went exclusively into the cattle business, in which he made a large fortune during the rise in prices. The reduction of recent years has no doubt shrunk it some, if estimated in dollars and cents, but as he is still largely in the business the next upward wave will carry his fortune along with it. He was for a long time proprietor of the Greeley Mills, and is now an extensive stockholder in the Colorado Milling combination, a corporation, however, which has failed to realize the expected dividends.

Something has been said about W. E. Pabor in connection with General Cameron's magazine scheme, but a farther notice is here deemed suitable. He has had perhaps as checkered a career as any of those who took a prominent part in this settlement. He was secretary of the colony for a time and published before the close of 1870 a history of the colony up to that date. Though several thousands of this pamphlet of forty pages were published, the writer has been able to find only three extant. From this publication some financial statistics were found of value, but the bulk of it referring to agriculture, irrigation, mountain scenery, flora, etc., has too high a poetical coloring for use here. We have quoted from its pages in reference to the fertility of Colorado soil only to show the extravagance of belief in that regard. Mr. Pabor had the poetic temperament, and saw common things "with his eyes in fine frenzy rolling." During the first summer his muse gushed forth so plentifully that ordinary English could not afford a sufficient outlet. The reader has already been treated to the poem about the perplexed and puzzled Dutchman. Paddy also had to have his say in verse, of which production the following is the last stanza :

"So bad or not, I tell you what,
  Jim, pack and come to Greeley;
There's room for Pat and Ned and Mat,
And though the land just looks like sand
  It makes the praties maly."

A Yankee writes back to his sweetheart, Mehitabel Tumble, of Squedunk, Maine, *a la Lowell*.

"I reckon neow it's time I writ
To yeou abeout eour teown, dear Het,
  Eout here on Colorado plains;
I swaow to gracious, when I think
Of Squedunk, I begin to blink
  My eyes, and people think it rains."

Mr. Pabor went into the real estate business in Greeley with his friend Mr. Allen. They invested largely in town lots during the spring of 1871, when, as our readers will remember, prices were higher than they were for many years afterwards. He also bought the McMaster farm, now owned by Albert Howard, and tried dairying and hay-making, Richard Armstrong being his foreman. In his poetical way he called this cat-tail swamp and nest of frog ponds "Valley Home Farm." He never was able to make it pay half the running expenses. From his experiments in farming and the depreciation of values in real estate in Greeley he became financially ruined and accompanied Cameron, as related, to the shores of the Pacific, and came back about as poor as a man ever gets. But his pen soon procured foi himself and family a living. He edited *The Colorado Farmer* for awhile with success, and since then various other newspapers. For the last half dozen of years he has occupied himself principally in developing and making known the resources of the Colorado San Juan region, and is now editing *The Grand Valley Star*. He may be credited as the founder of the town of Fruita, a name of his coining. He appears to have steadily gained in this world's goods since his second advent to Colorado. No doubt the toils and partial failures of the passing day are relieved and in part compensated for, by living still largely in his "Castles in Spain," which never wholly leave the poetic soul shelterless. A quotation from an article written by him to *The New York Saturday Review*, about the beginning of 1873, will give our readers an idea of his prose style at its best, and also of his sanguine expectations:

"GREELEY—THE PIONEER COLONY.

* * "I well remember the strange thrill of satisfaction I experienced when the telegraphic announcement was made by the Locating Committee, sent out by the nucleus that had gathered in the Farmers' club room of the Cooper Institute in the preceding December, that a site had been chosen, lands selected, a home founded for those who had cast their lots together in the well-nigh chimerical scheme of founding a town in the 'Far West." For this was the pioneer of the new system of settlements. It had no precedent by which to regulate its movements. * * *

"So we came from the bays of Maine and the capes of Florida, from the forests of Minnesota and the swamps of Louisiana, from the shores of the great inland lakes, and from the pavements of the multitude-burdened cities; strangers, yet friends; kindred through a common faith, a common purpose, and a common hope. And we pitched our tents in the bright day-shine and the soft star-light of that eventful summer, on the banks of the fair 'flowing river by whose side we were to make or mar our destiny; from whose tide we were to draw a blessing or a curse. The record of the times in which the faith of manhood or the trust of womanhood were tried, has never been fairly put upon paper, and never can be. The doubts that chased each other as the swift antelope chases its fellow over the prairies—these who can fathom? The fears that came with the morning sunbeams, and were not dispelled by the shadows of the night—these who can count? With many life had been one long mistake of purpose and failure of accomplishment. Was this to be the culminating mistake? The grand climacteric of failure?

"So we asked ourselves as the days went by. But the hope and the faith that had nerved us during our long journey hither, never wholly died out of our hearts. There were to be gains as well as losses, pleasures as well as pains. The warmly tender bosom of Mother Earth gave suggestions of the mighty forces concealed within and bid us bend the witch-hazel rod of an indomitable will, and the secret of the hidden wealth should be ours.

"Two thousand (?) people are happily settled upon the Union Colony lands in and around Greeley. Half a dozen brick blocks within my sight, as I sit writing at my office table, testify of the faith of the builders and of the positive material prosperity of the town. Town lots despised in June, 1870, at the fearful price of twenty-five dollars, to-day cannot be purchased for $1,500. (It is to be suspected that this last is a real estate man's imaginary estimate—as no *inside* lot was then worth more than $500.) A schoolhouse of stately proportions, to cost $20,000, is rising from the center of the town, to indicate that the educational interests of the children are to be properly looked after. Four church denominations invite the people to prayer and praise. Two lyceums weekly tempt the citizens to listen to original and selected themes, to music, to poetry, to discussions of the arts and sciences, the politics of the nation, and the ethics of social life. Two newspapers are published, two banks successfully teach the rules of discount and realize the benefits arising from a tempting two per cent. a month policy. Three thousand acres of grain were harvested this season, and the wheat averaged twenty-six bushels, and the potatoes two hundred bushels per acre. Such agricultural experience in the heart of what was known to me in the days of my youth as the 'Great American Desert,' astonishes us even yet; and the half has not been told as it is. Later I shall collate some of the farming statistics of the present year, with which to astonish Eastern agriculturists. These evidences of prosperity tell their own story; others could be added. Two steam saw mills are busy with the logs our mountain men cut last winter in the mighty pine forest west of us, and floated down the river when the early summer sun sent the snow in streaming torrents down the winding river. A flour mill that cannot fill the measure of the demand upon it produces a 'Snow-flake' brand unequaled in the length and breadth of the United States of America. And here let me say that I have noticed of late accounts of Colorado wheat as far east as Boston, and I doubt not at even that distance from its producing center it *pays* to get it. * * *

"The taxable amount of town property for this year reaches the remarkable figure of $800,000. The taxable property under the irrigating canals of Union Colony amounts to $1,100,000. Weld county, in which we are located, shows taxable real estate to the value of $3,300,000. The area of lands in the Cache la Poudre valley, between its junction with the South Platte, four miles east of Greeley, is estimated at 375,000 acres, all of which can be brought under cultivation; within five years this property will be worth $25,000,000, exclusive of building values that may be upon it, in the farm houses that are to dot this charming valley. Allotting but one-third of this valley for cultivation, it can be shown that this portion is capable of producing two million, five hundred thousand bushels of cereals, or 150,000,000 pounds of food. This amount is capable of sustaining three hundred thousand persons. For a moment we can scarcely realize our situation, or the magnificent future awaiting this valley, so beautiful for situation, the joy of Northern Colorado."

The reader who has followed us so far need not have pointed out to him the extravagance of the above. His attention, however, should be called to the fact that the value of taxable property in Greeley is said to be $800,000. If that means assessed value, we have been going at a snail's pace since, as the assessed value of property within the corporate limits of Greeley is only a little over $1,000,000 in 1889, or seventeen years after the one spoken of by Mr. Pabor. The writer feels sure that the real value of property to-day, both as regards improvements and the bare realty, is five times that of 1872, and the moneys, credits and personals is not far from the same ratio. It may therefore be supposed that Mr. Pabor meant by *taxable* value *the real value* just as a late circular published by the real estate operators here puts the *taxable value* of property in Weld county at $22,000,000, when the *assessed* value is only one-third of this. It is worthy of inquiry whether our real estate operators learned this trick from the first of their guild among us. However, the assessment in those days was nearer the real value than it is now, and the town property had then a separate assessment for town purposes, and was made higher than the county so as to get funds to meet the demands.

In regard to the estimated production of the Poudre valley, it may be said that in 1889 the wheat is estimated at 600,000 bushels, which is probably twice as much as ever was raised in one year before, and is as high as it is ever likely to go for reasons already given. The total wheat crop of the valleys watered by the South Platte and its tributaries is estimated at 3,000,000 bushels for the same year.

We are told that the amount of cereal so estimated was "capable of sustaining 300,000 persons." This would be about eight bushels of wheat per head, which would be more than sufficient for sustaining them with bread, but the modern man does not "live by bread alone," not even in a physical sense. The cost of breadstuffs is less than one-tenth of the total cost of living of even a frugal family. It is much less than that, if the value of the *wheat alone* is taken into account. Hence wheat producers would have to sell at least nine out of every ten bushels raised to supply them with the other necessaries of life. This would reduce Mr. Pabor's 300,000 to 30,000, and dividing his 2,500,000 bushels by four we would have the population of the Poudre valley supported by *wheat raising alone* reduced to 7,500. There is only about one-fourth of the cultivated land sown to wheat, so it may be considered capable of sustaining the 30,000 by means of agricultural industry alone. The population, not taking into account those at work in the stone quarries, is probably not more than 12,000. The above affords us a good instance of the incompleteness of view characteristic of the poetic mind.

Of the other men who took a conspicuous part and made a good deal of noise, but who long ago retired from the scene of their conflicts, we may mention J. Heron Foster. His estimate of things was far from poetical. His reading in agricultural science and about practical agriculture was extensive.

He had quite a turn for exact statistics, and the Farmers' Club afforded him a suitable arena on which to display his speculations, and make report of his experiments. But the scientific turn of mind that is so often led to undertake experiments is likely to prove as ruinous to its owner as the poetic, when the latter remains satisfied with its "Castles in Spain." Mr. Foster had this turn for experimenting, and the situation in which we found ourselves here was a new and tempting one. Much, nearly everything, was to be learned in this costly school. Mr. Foster seemed to reason from an induction of conditions to results about as closely as it is given us to make anticipating conclusions. His line of work was mostly horticulture and nursery business. New and unforeseen, to human vision unforeseeable, contingencies were constantly arising. Water would fail and then the grasshoppers came. If anything escaped, there was but little market for it. Health also failed. During the spring of 1875 he had a severe eruption of the throat coming from scrofula. He lingered along during the summer, and some time in September bought an old pony and saddle and started away from the scene of his dissappointed hopes to try his fortunes over again elsewhere. He had less than $25 in his pocket. Wife and three children left behind who, however, get the annual income from his father's estate, some $200. He pulls up somewhere in the arid regions now ironically called "rainbelt," of Kansas.

Tries a colonial scheme of his own, fails in this and finds there more drouth and grasshoppers than in Colorado. Goes back to Pennsylvania on a begging tour for "bleeding Kansas," gets into difficulties about not accounting satisfactorily for funds. Leaves Kansas for Florida, but not alone, having found a partner of joys and sorrows in the wife of some one else unhappily mated. Commences raising young orange trees and writes this author hopefully. Husband of present partner follows and takes up a contiguous claim in Florida. Both with no evil intent. Has no blood in his eye. On the contrary, when Mr. Foster gets divorce for sufficient reasons from number one, this complacent husband, having become preacher meantime, now unites the couple in the holy bonds of matrimony, and as Mr. Foster puts it, they all at once became quite respectable. The transaction seemed to be highly satisfactory to both. As the adage is "What is one man's meat is the other man's poison."

It is understood that he has just finished a three year's experience with "Philadelphia lawyers." He undertook to break his mother's will, who had disinherited him for various things esteemed by her unworthy of his parents. The father seems to have been a man of ability, was editor of the Pittsburgh *Dispatch* during war times, and when he died had amassed a fortune of some $100,000. The mother and sisters visited Greeley several times, and the younger sister, Rachel, won here golden opinions. She will be remembered by many, especially of our liberal people, as having taken a conspicuous part in the Nebraska campaign in favor of impartial suffrage, and Susan B. Anthony says that during it "she gave more time than any other woman and more money than all of them." She has some two years ago changed her name to Mrs. Cyrus F. Avery, the co-partner being of course "all right" on the suffrage question.

Strange combinations of persistent endeavor and insignificant accomplishment was J. Heron Foster. The poor outcome was largely due to an inferior organization being dominated and driven to death by a too active restless mind. Then it seemed as if the circumstances always turned out against him. At the touch of some men everything turns into gold, at the touch of others into slag.

In many respects Samuel Blodgett stands in contrast to the man of whom we have been discoursing, but resembling him in some particulars. Physically as weak, he was singularly efficient in accomplishing his ends. He was one of our most successful farmers and a man of the utmost integrity. He wrote for the local papers many articles of marked ability. He was quite a thinker, especially on social, economic and religious questions. Though physically feebler than her husband Mrs. Blodgett was equally vigorous as a thinker. Their union was a very happy one. It was on account of her continued ill-health that he sold out here in 1882 and settled at Knoxville, Tenn. He soon left there and settled in Florida, not far from J. H. Foster. He made a large purchase of land partly contracted from a railroad company. He undertook to found a town and colony at this place, inviting in his circulars only those of liberal religious opinions to join him. His colonial scheme seems to have proved a failure and it is understood that he loses the land contracted for with the railroad, since it failed to fullfil its contract with the U. S. government.

A few months ago Mrs. Blodgett died. This sad separation is no doubt mitigated for him by the firm belief that it is only temporary, as both were firm believers in the life hereafter as expounded by modern spiritualists. J. H. Foster, if he had but little else in common, had this belief, too.

Here also belonged Wm. Foote, Jr., who took quite a prominent part in colonial affairs, especially in the Fence District management. He was a man of very pronounced opinions, and especially prided himself about his knowledge of law. Though carrying on a large farm in "Lone Tree" for a number of years and apparently doing well, some five years ago he sold out and went back to his native Pennsylvania.

To this same band of spiritualists belonged F. H. Rous and his amiable well-informed wife. Their home, though humble while here, was the welcome resort of liberal thinkers who, as if by some unseen guidance, had found their paths meet here. Both had been raised Quakers, he in England, she in Scotland. The road from the Society of the Friends to the ranks of the Spiritualists seems to be an open short one. The absence of a professional ministry trained in traditional theology, gives the fullest play to the individual reason and conscience. In this sect the theory of private interpretation under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, who aided the humblest individual as much as him highest in sacerdotal dignity, attained its most complete recognition. The only restraint upon free inquiry was a parental and traditional one, together with special education provided for the youth of the sect. It was believed that the Spirit of God revealed itself directly to the receptive human soul. It is but a step from this to the belief that if the soul survives it, too, can communicate with another still clothed in the flesh.

This calm contemplative couple came here from the Dominion of Canada where Mr. Rous had been in the mercantile business. Both had been teachers in Quaker schools in England. But Mr. Rous had scarcely capital enough to go into business here and he found no opening as a teacher. He stood an examination for that profession, and although the conditions were considerably different here, got a certificate with high marks. He had also been county superintendent of schools in Canada and would like to have been here, but there were too many hungry, younger, more pushing aspirants on the ground, and well informed as he was his views were not quite American. Hence he found no road open to make a living but that of cultivating the soil. He undertook gardening and nursery business as well as a little general farming. As we have seen, no one could at that time make a living at these pursuits, but least of all one who had all to learn, and was well turned of fifty and without the trained physical powers of endurance needed for the drudgery imposed by these occupations upon the man of limited capital. From this it happened that his life here was a painful failure in a financial point of view. But it, too, had its compensations. Many congenial friends were found, and happy hours of calm, delightful converse enjoyed with kindred spirits—those here in the flesh are meant. Though faith seemed strong, the writer fancies that communications from "beyond the veil" were of the shadowiest and least refreshing of consolations.

Mr. Rous was secretary of the colony for about a year—following W. H. Post in that office. Their daughter Lizzie put an end to days that had become a burden to her, because her lover back in Canada had proved unfaithful to her, and the fallen fortunes of her parents left her only the prospect of drudgery, working out for others as she was then compelled to do. With firm, courageous hand she held the pistol bought by her and loaded for the purpose, against her throbbing temple, and discharged its swift messenger of death into the weary brain. Both parents bore the shock calmly, philosophically, believing that all was well with their courageous Lizzie, who was all the braver since she did not share the hope of her parents regarding the life eternal. About a year after they returned to Canada except "Will," who had learned the plasterer's trade and pursued it here for some years after their departure. Where he went in leaving no one knows. Miss Alice, the youngest and fairest, died a few years after returning and was soon followed by her mother. About a year ago the sire also passed over as he confidently believed to be united to those he loved, and had for a season lost. Thus here and there and everywhere is being acted this sad human tragedy.

A. D. Moodie came to Greeley with Mr. Rous and from the same place, and he and his family saw some of their darkest days in the autumn of 1871. They, as also Mr. Rous, had settled under the newly constructed "Mill Power" canal, and typhoid fever prostrated Mr.

Moodie for weeks. Funds were low and the family numerous, and at that time, helpless. But upon recovering he went to work with a will. Some land was taken up where he now lives, but the grasshoppers had to be fought, and capital to carry on the farm was wanting. But Mr. Moodie had been a miner as well as farmer. So he went to work and developed the coal mine northwest of Eaton in company with Mr. Higley, and this kept the wolf from the door. He then went to Canfield and managed a mine there. Finally the grasshoppers left and Mr. Moodie had managed to save something besides keeping his family, and was more able to go ahead farming. In this he has succeeded quite well, having now a farm of 480 acres. Part of the time he and the family have lived in town on account of sending the daughters to the High School, from which two have graduated, Agnes Strickland and Bessie D. The former is now Mrs. Nusbaum. The children are all bright and scholarly in their ways as is to be expected from near relatives of Agnes Strickland, the historian of the "Queens of England," etc. Mr. Moodie's mother was a sister of the authoress named, and was also herself an author of repute, and wrote a number of interesting works on backwoods life in Canada. His father was Scotch, and had been an officer in the British army in India before coming to the backwoods of Canada. Mrs. A. D. Moodie was also of a literary turn, but she some eight years ago passed the gates into the unknown void, leaving behind the fragrance of a beautiful life as an inspiration for her daughters.

Mr. Moodie has not been wholly occupied about his private affairs. He has had much to do with the management of the Fence District. He has also been a director of the Cache La Poudre Irrigating company (Canal Number Two) and took a part in company with B. S. La Grange in formulating our irrigation legislation at the 1882 session of the State Legislature. Although Mr. Moodie is a genial not a quarrelsome man, yet it is safer not to tramp upon his toes, as he is said to be the hardest hitter inside what was the colony fence, and unlike his Quaker friend Mr. Rous he has no disposition to turn the other cheek to the smiter.

We have just spoken of B. S. La Grange in connection with A. D. Moodie and irrigation legislation. But Mr. La Grange is stronger in the line of applied irrigation than in that of the theoretical. He was for a long time one of the trustees of Union Colony and afterwards of the new company organized to manage Number Two. He has directly or indirectly, had charge of nearly all the different enlargements and improvements of Number Two, and projected and executed the plan of its dam. For the greater part of the time since the date of the decree of the court formulating water priorities in District Number Three, he has been water commissioner, and largely through his push this district has taken the lead in getting a system of accurate measurement and distribution in operation. He is now putting up for the district a telephone system connecting the heads of the most important ditches with his office at Fort Collins. He is a man fertile in expedients to meet sudden emergencies and new situations. He has for a long time been a member of the State Board of Agriculture and has done valuable work in the practical line for the State Agricultural College. He has been employed by the State Land Board to locate the greater part of the State lands, a most difficult task in a country where the value of the land depends upon its situation for irrigation and the available water supply, much more than upon the character of the soil which is also of importance and requires the eye of a practical, observing farmer to determine. His extensive travels in this last connection have made him familiar with nearly every nook and corner of agricultural land in the state. He has a good eye and sound judgment about the availability of lands for agriculture, and so has been of great use to the state. These public services keep him much from home, but the farm is ably managed by his wife, who like French women in general, has quite a turn for business. She, like her husband, is partly of French descent. Unlike most of the old colonists they have more of a taste for rural than town life, and quite soon went out on their farm and commenced to settle down with every appearance of having stuck stakes to stay. Trees and shrubbery now nearly completely hide house and barns, and altogether the place has a cosy and homelike look.

While in their vicinity it will not be amiss to call upon Colonel M. J. Hogarty and wife, an interesting family even if at this writing their two eldest daughters are absent at the State University. The colonel lost an eye on the battlefield during the war of the rebellion, and in reality is only a colonel by courtesy, being in fact a lieutenant on the muster roll of the United States Invalid Corps. But his hard service has not been able to suppress his indefatigable activity. He makes a first class farmer and has one of the nicest, best cultivated farms within the limits of Union Colony. His house and its surroundings stand upon a gentle eminence some quarter of a mile from the road from which there is a drive bordered with now well-grown trees. He and his well-read refined wife make this spot a delightful home indeed, where their many friends are welcomed with genuine Irish hospitality and American cordiality.

Mr. Hogarty and his brother, W. P., came to the colony in the spring of 1871 and built a fine house upon their five-acre lot southeast of town. It is the same now occupied for a county hospital and poor house. It would appear that they intended to engage in horticulture, like so many others who had come here on what proved for the most a fool's errand. They soon saw that this business would not do and both went back to Missouri; but M. J. and family returned in some five months and purchased where they now live, and commenced building and beautifying it until it has become what it is.

Mr. Hogarty takes a prominent part in many public affairs, and is quite public-spirited, as well as ready to lend a hand to any fellow in need, even though the needy one be not a Free Mason, a Grand Army man, a Loyal Legionary, or an Irish Land Leaguer. He keeps independent in politics and votes for whom he regards as the best man and for what he considers the best measures. Mrs. Hogarty is a leader of women among women, has been president of the Womans' Relief Corps, belongs to the order of the Eastern Star, and accompanies her husband to the Grange, in which order the man and his wife, or his sweetheart, are received on equal footing. She is also a member of the Unitarian Unity Circle, which she helps in its beneficent work.

This La Grange district is quite a progressive community. They have one of the finest schoolhouses to be found in a country district. They usually keep a Lyceum agoing in the winter time, and are beginning to collect what will no doubt soon become a fine library. Church services are held every other Sunday, the preachers of the different denominations in Greeley supplying the desk by turns, so that they have a delightful variety. Colonel Hogarty is the orignator of this novel plan of breaking up sectarianism. A Sunday school is kept up every Sunday.

In addition to those named we might mention in this district, Henry DeVotie who long ago built him a fine house and has been one of the most successful farmers of that neighborhood. He now lives for the most part in his house in the suburbs of Greeley for the purpose of sending his family to the High School and for the social advantages. Mr. De Votie was in Colorado before the colony came. Was in fact in one of the regiments raised by Colorado during the Rebellion, but was not at the Sand Creek Indian massacre—this time by the white soldiers of Colorado.

Mrs. Fairchild is also in this district and is worthy of mention as a woman who has made a successful farmer. On the outskirts of this district also lies the farm of Captain Neff, who is now living in town and doing a seed business.

H. T. WEST.

Farther up we come to the district of Captain Arthur Hotchkiss, whose title was lately changed to Judge. The station of the Greeley and Salt Lake R. R., near his country residence, is called Hotchkiss, in his honor, so he has attained quite an enduring sort of immortality. But the Captain, or Judge, if the latter is considered the more honorable, is not much out on the farm of late. He was for a long time president of the Board of County Commissioners, and under his direction the County Court House was erected most economically and honestly. Then he was elected County Recorder, and upon the death of J. L. Barrett was appointed Judge. He is just now about starting a bank in Fort Morgan.

To the Hotchkiss district belongs A. J. Forbes, whose hair is now thin and white, but he still retains his vivacity and push. He too, after toil, struggle and frequent discomfiture, has at length got firmly rooted in the soil. An excellent hand he between the stilts of a plow or the handles of a cultivator. May the evening of his day be peace, and may he have all of his beloved *greenbacks* needed to its end.

To this neighborhood belongs J. M. Wadlin, who has one of the largest farms in that section—some 400 acres—and is supposed to have money in the bank besides. This has nearly all been made since coming to Colorado. He is one of the most cautious, industrious and thrifty of men.

No great distance off lie the lands once those of James Storms, so fitly named on this side the Lethean flood, but now calm enough in his narrow cell in Linn Grove cemetery. For him the world was sadly out of joint, but now he knows its purpose if one there be.

Returning eastward we are attracted by the fine, large barn and spacious yards of John Thompson, now in the evening of his day, reaping the reward of well-directed effort. His son, J. H., has in cultivation one of the finest half-sections under the Larimer and Weld canal, and is now about to enter on his duties as County Treasurer.

Just above him lies the farm of our old and tried friend, Job E. Brownell. He and his energetic, hopeful wife were among the first on the ground and have had more than their fair share of the sorrows incident to the human lot. Four out of their six lie side by side in the cold embrace of death, the last two meeting their tragic end together but a little more than a year ago. Without trope or figure it is to be said their frail bark foundered on the uncanny ice's fragile edge. The audacious daring which sacrificed for Harry and Oscar their lives, as boys, might have won for them as men distinction and renown. A hair's breadth of difference in the incalculable circumstance, makes for us safe landing or shipwreck.

Mr. Brownell was an artilleryman in the regular army during the war of the rebellion. He seems as impassive as an iceberg, but is possessed of that cool audacity that makes a man stand by his guns whatever the personal risk. Mrs. B. has quite a turn for writing poetry, and with this amiable foible as a companion, whiles away delightedly many an hour that would tediously drag itself along if spent in unproductive reverie, or in idly brooding over irreparable losses.

The sightly house upon the hill just this side of Mr. Brownell's no longer echoes to the voice and footfalls of those who planned and built it. George W. Buell, long in the clutch of life's grim adversary, strove in vain to get free of the fatal grasp. In spite of both medical science and Christian science the fated separation had to be made in life's middle prime.

Mr. and Mrs. Buell in the literary and social circles of the early days took a leading part. Both were well educated and well read, and given to thought, and the serious consideration of human life in its various relations. But these things, while health remained, did not interfere with their success in managing rural affairs. It was a pleasure to pass their farm during the summer and see the thorough, clean, culture and the promise of an abundant harvest. Mr. Buell often wrote for the papers of the state, articles on agricultural affairs, and what he said was always to the point. His wife and two children now live in Greeley and her agricultural affairs are managed in company with her brother, Will Clark. They have a property above Eaton on the "Buell Lake," watered from the Larimer and Weld. She has just been elected secretary of the Greeley School Board.

Both of the Rev. Alfred Baxter's farms are near here, but the old gentleman some time ago gave up carrying them on himself and took up a claim near Carr station, Denver Pacific railway. There he busies himself in part with raising horses and cattle, but spends most of his time in study of his Greek New Testament, the higher algebra, geometry, and perhaps *quaternions*. As has been said he preached the first sermon delivered on the site of the city of Greeley to a crowd of half-hopeful, half-distracted people seated or standing on the cactus plains in the open air, which probably was in no sluggish *mode of motion*.

He was born in the North of England and educated at Westminster College, London. For some four years he was principal of an Academy at Stratford-on-Avon, the home of Shakespeare. For all of these literary and scientific habits he made a successful farmer, and while engaged at it put money in his purse. Many a day he put in with his mule team scraping on the various enlargements of Number Two. It seems that the Briton is born naturally a farmer. It might be said that Englishmen and people from the Western States have made our most successful farmers. In our colonial days, of all foreign countries, England was the best represented, indeed there were twice as many from that country as from all others combined. From there were the three Brothers Atkinson—James, Sharon and Thomas, all of whom made successful farmers, although before coming here they had been operatives in factories, first in Old then in New England. All three have made money at farming, but have lately retired into town and are engaged in other business. To this group also belongs Allan Ramsay, who should be a Scotchman, as he bears the name of Scotland's distinguished pastoral poet. Ralph Hilton also belongs to this English farming group, and Thomas Mimmack whilom miller, but now farmer, and also James Harris, all three successful in their business. From the same part of Great Britain were also Thomas Inman, senior, and his four boys, all of whom tried farming, but who have found that their "forte" was not in that line, the boys achieving more renown as a quartette singing club than as plowmen.

Our solid drayman, James Beetham, also betrays his nativity by the occasional use or abuse of his *h's*. He has never done much at farming, but is considered one of our substantial men, worth far more in cash than many who make much more of "a spread." His name will be found at the end of this volume as one of the town aldermen. His son "Joe,"' used to have the reputation of being the swiftest footed man in the state, but it is to be feared his premature rheumatism has spoiled him for the race course.

Prominent in this group of Englishmen stands Joseph Moore. He started life in England as a radical, both in religion and politics. He was skeptical, a Chartist and a good deal of a communist. He in later years became quite conservative in politics and religion. He is now a pillar in the Methodist church of this place, that is if that church has any pillars that are not clerical. Note has been made of backsliders from the church to the ranks of liberalism, so it is only fair to notice backsliding the other way.

Mr. Moore has taken a conspicuous part in the public affairs of Greeley. As will be seen from a reference to the Appendix he was for a long time magistrate and also president of the Town Board. He was also long connected with the Fence District, whose business was frequently of quite a distracting nature. The leading part he took in bringing about the renewal of the colony's corporate life we have noticed in the chapter on temperance. Before coming here he was a member of the Connecticut Legislature. He has made some study of the law and is also quite well up in chemistry and metallurgy. He seems to have almost completely rallied from a physical breakdown, which overtook him some years ago. Take him all in all he is a man of sterling worth, and in passing through this stage of a journey which he believes will have no end, has left behind some "foot-prints upon the sands of time."

The present editor of *The Greeley Tribune*, E. J. Carver, is also of English birth and education. He had been employed on *The New York Tribune* before coming to the colony, which was in the fall of 1871. His notions about the make-up of a newspaper are rather English than American. He believes that the statements made in it should be truthful rather than sensational; and that details of scandal, vice and crime, which minister to, and stimulate a depraved appetite, should have no place in a decent family newspaper. In this respect he does not differ from the founder of the paper, but in the strong, bitter, harsh denunciation of men and measures that he opposes he does not follow the example of his predecessor. Mr. Carver takes no delight in giving needless pain to the feelings even of an opponent. He has pursued the policy of doing what may be judiciously done towards healing the wounds inflicted during the controversies of the earlier days between contending factions within the colony, and between Greeley and rival towns of the county. He has aimed at making *The Tribune* a county paper, and is modest about making claims for the people of Greeley as immeasurably superior to their neighbors in virtue and intelligence and, hence, he has been able to disarm much of the hostile criticism that was wont to be directed against the people of the town during the editorship of N. C. Meeker. Yet it is to be said that Mr. Carver will not yield one iota of what he considers just and salutary principles. He is independent in politics though in the main Republican, and will not support what he considers unjust measures, or corrupt men pushed forwards by the party. In fact he wishes to edit a clean, reliable, instructive paper.

James G. Cooper was also a *New York Tribune* man who took a conspicuous part in the early days. He had the honor of raising the first National flag that floated over the town of Greeley at the top of the liberty pole. He did not find agriculture, as it had to be carried on in the early days, a congenial occupation, so he went back during our third year, but not empty handed, as he carried off with him a fair and accomplished Greeley maiden, Miss Mattie Ranney, the daughter of John Ranney, long a citizen of Greeley, but now passed beyond the mortal horizon.

Many men have come to Colorado on account of their health, or what is quite as frequent on account of that of some one of their family. In doing this sometimes very considerable sacrifices have to be made in an industrial point of view. Men who are trained to a particular trade, which is only pursued in old, well-settled communities, are thrown badly out of joint when they change to a pioneer community requiring versatility of capacity to which their training is averse. In this situation James J. Armstrong found himself on coming to the site of the town of Greeley early in May, 1870. His wife, who was a sufferer from bronchial troubles, came along and suffered with her three children the privations of those early days. But she felt so much improved that she bore it all cheerfully, as well as the discouragements attending farming, in which Mr. Armstrong was engaged during the grasshopper years. He had been a moulder in iron in New England before coming here, and being a proficient in the trade commanded good wages and steady employment. He had before marriage been a sailor, and his wife was the daughter of a sea captain. Old sailors have a better repute than old soldiers when they engage in other employments. The steady work to which they are accustomed under the severest exposure inures them to a life that is readily exchanged for the farm. Mr. Armstrong was also born in England, but has long been thoroughly Americanized. Indeed it appears that those of no other nationality coalesce so easily in every particular with the Americans, and quite frequently they become more republican in sentiment than the natives. The people of no other country are so ready to hear with calmness the faults of their government and the foibles of their countrymen severely criticised. It is doubtful if the people of any other nationality are so thoroughly cosmopolitan, making it a point of honor to treat fairly men of all races and complexions.

On the whole it may be said that Mr. Armstrong has gone through the trying ordeal of a new country, where a new set of circumstances had to be met, with credit, and has succeeded in gradually improving his financial condition, and raising and educating a family of five children. Mrs. Armstrong is a woman of reading and refinement and did much towards giving tone and character to our early society. Two of the daughters have graduated and are teaching, the elder in our schools and the younger at Fort Collins. The writer has always admired the man and woman who spend laborious days, cheerfully devoted to the well-being of their offspring, who are for them their choicest treasures; and many such there are in Greeley, but none more conspicuous than Mr. Armstrong and his wife.

The new situation in which we have found ourselves here has developed a new sort of business—that is the superintendence of irrigating canals. There is needed a variety of ability, good judgment and honesty in dividing water, and quickness to meet emergencies. Mr. Armstrong, during a number of years, has been engaged in this occupation, and has for some years been in charge of the largest canal in the Poudre valley.

While speaking of old sailors, we may here mention James Orr. He is a native of the North of Ireland, and in addition to belonging to the merchant marine, was also in the United States navy during the rebellion. Mr. Orr plowed the first furrow turned in Greeley, having taken the job of running furrows to mark the boundaries of the streets. He did this with a yoke of oxen—the same team that Jos. Murray afterwards owned and for which reason attained notoriety, as it often figured in his speeches to point a moral or embellish a figure of rhetoric. Mr. Orr early moved out into the country, where he has kept his family all the time, but during the Black Hills mining excitement he engaged in freighting, and ran many a time the gauntlet of the hostile Sioux. Engaged in this same business our townsman, Captain Thomas G. Macy, who is also an old "tar," was attacked, and two out of the four of his party shot, and train destroyed. He and the other two escaped as if by a hair's breadth. Men in our midst, who have had experiences of this kind, do not shed many tears over the prospective extinction of the noble red race.

To this group of old "salts" prominently belongs the name of Samuel Graham, now a denizen of the silent city to our southeast, where the forefathers of our colony shall soon one by one be gathered. Like Mr. Orr Samuel Graham was born in the city of Belfast, North of Ireland. He went on several whaling voyages and had many hair-breadth escapes in that perilous employment. He had been settled down in New England a long time before removing to Greeley and there were born his family of three sons and four daughters. He tried farming on the "Delta" after coming here where, of course, on account of known disadvantages, he failed, but it must be owned that he had not the proverbial close industrial habits credited to the sailors. He found hotel-keeping more congenial than fighting grasshoppers and plugging gopher holes, and bought from the colony the "Exchange" Hotel and Colony Hall, erected by Russell Fisk, but abandoned in the days of declining real estate prices, to the colony for the $2,500 it had advanced him towards its construction.

Through the hard work of wife and daughters Mr. Graham made a fair success of hotel-keeping, though by no means a model landlord, many a foot-sore, hungry tramp being freely fed and lodged by him. On all questions he was a radical of the most pronounced type. During slavery days he had been an abolitionist dyed-in-the-wool. He was a skeptic in religion, fearless and outspoken. In temperance he was uncompromising, both in principle and practice, and was never afraid to lead in prosecution the violation of our ordinances on that subject. But the theme which during his latter years engrossed most of his attention, was finance, as set forth by the Greenback party. For this he was ready to do battle at any time against all comers. He became fairly monomaniacal on the subject. Through him largely *The Rocky Mountain Howitzer* was started and kept on its feet. There is no one except, perhaps, Mr. Messinger, the publisher and editor of the paper, knows how much he expended to keep it afloat. When the party was dead nearly everywhere else, it was not dead for him. Joseph Murray was his redoubtable hero, and if he had lived to have seen him stumping Indiana for Harrison he could hardly have survived the shock. It may be said that this party here had a band of devoted, sincere, capable, earnest men, and for that matter women, too, who would have given even a worse cause respectability. Here belonged A. J. Wilber, Jos. Murray and M. J. Hogarty, of whom something has been said elsewhere. We may add the names of Dr. W. P. Welch, John Leavy, J. E. Billings, Abner and Ed. Baker, Horace Clark, Joseph Moss, Madison Smith and his two sons, Pitts and "Obe," the Pollock brothers, Stephen Spencer and other men of note and ability. A few of these ought to have more particular mention. Dr. W. P. Welch on coming here in 1873 found the profession crowded, and resolved to try something else. He undertook farming on the delta, and soon united to that business sheep husbandry, and has succeeded remarkably well in both. He is a man who watches his business closely, and is blessed in having a noble, capable woman for his wife. They are rearing a large family as it ought to be reared in knowledge, virtue and habits of industry.

John Leavy it appears was the first one to write to N. C. Meeker proposing to join the colony after the latter had issued his circular. He also first proposed that the name of the organization be "Union Colony"—a very fit name for a body which proposed co-operation as its basis of settlement. He was one of the first on the ground and enlivened proceedings at the Hotel de Comfort pow-wows, as Dr. Law irreverently calls the oratorical exercises in which the Greeley pioneers amused themselves, to the consternation of Cameron, West &

Company. No tongue there could cut with half the sharpness into the faults or the foibles discovered in the crowd of fresh arrivals. But though Mr. Leavy's nights were spent at the hotel, his days were busy in preparing his plat of ground on Main street for his greenhouse, hot-beds and flower borders soon to make for a time the most attractive spot in Greeley. He had come here to build up the place, not to break up the colony, which he had the honor of baptizing. So he put into it his all, preparing for his family the needed shelter before sending for them. The conversation of the gardener was as fresh and exhilerating as the hues of his violet and verbena beds, and no passing stranger left his premises without carrying away the impression that here at least was an original. There are now many more attractive spots in Greeley, his flower borders being elsewhere surpassed; but his conversation is said to have gained rather than lost in its pungency. A loyal and true friend to whom he is a friend, but an unrelenting and implacable enemy to whom he is an enemy.

It would be unpardonable to pass by Eli Hall, when we are speaking about Main street gardeners. A little farther up the street just beyond the verge of the original town site, as surveyed into residence lots, comes the beautiful five-acre lot of Eli Hall. This was for a long time the most skillfully cultivated tract of ground in or near Greeley. The fine crops of vegetables he grew here attracted the attention of all visitors who took a stroll up Main street. Piece after piece has been sold, much at more than $1,000 per acre, and now he has remaining only the small corner where his neat, well-painted house stands. But this is all the ground he needs. His gait is now that of the old man, moving slowly but surely to the not distant goal of earthly hopes and fears.

Mr. Hall is far from being a greenbacker in politics. In fact he was so far as this writer knows the only Democrat among the original colonists. The precinct always cast a small Democratic vote, but this came from the old settlers during the first year who lived on the outside of town but within the precinct. The county was Democratic before the coming of the colony, when this was all changed; and if the Republicans did not split into factions the Democrats could not elect an officer.

In connection with Eli Hall may be mentioned Niagara Hall; both were from the state of New York, but not otherwise connected. Mr. Niagara Hall also intended to engage in horticulture, but finding it unprofitable for reasons already given, he went into merchandise, and has succeeded in that line. He is a quiet man of known integrity, who never knowingly misrepresents the quality of his goods. Our climate has afforded him much relief from the asthma which afflicted him before coming here.

James Henry was a Greenbacker dyed in the wool as long as there was a tatter of the party hanging together. Now I suppose he is a Nationalist, and only his advanced age prevented him from joining the colony of Albert K. Owen in Sinaloa, Mexico, whither went many of our advanced social reformers, mostly, however, to return again. Mr. Henry, in company with A. W. Hancock, laid up the first brick buildings in town. These were sunburnt or adobes. Both soon went out on farms and made good farmers. Mr. Hancock, however, soon retired into town and built a number of residences on his town property. He is supposed to be well to do and is passing the evening of his day quietly. James Henry on the other hand sticks to the country and his first eighty-acre lot from which he has made a good living. He is one of the most thorough cultivators within the colony, and is an exception to the rule that city mechanics of advanced age are not apt to succeed if they betake themselves to farming. When J. Max Clark used to live in town and carry on his farm which was some three miles out he was wont to meet, as he was going out of a morning to his farm, Mr. Henry coming in from his to work at his trade in town, which he occasionally did for a few years. This led J. Max to write an article to *The Tribune* in which he happily quoted from the odes of Horace showing that people in general hanker for some other kind of life than that they have been leading, and hence Mr. Henry's preference for the country and his for the town to gratify which whim each was sacrificing some hour and a half daily. Mr. and Mrs. Henry's only daughter is married to a young farmer Benjamin Reinks who lives across the street, and who has made his money since coming to Colorado and is now erecting on his farm a fine brick building with stone foundation.

The venerable Judge Clark, father of J. Max, Horace G., Edgar E. and Arthur B., is still on this side of the grave, upon whose edge his foot has appeared to be even longer than he has been in Greeley—some nineteen years. He was one of the pioneers of Wisconsin, and was a member of one of its earliest legislatures and also for a time county judge. He gave a great deal of attention to horticulture in that state and was a born experimenter. He has amused himself in Greeley some at his old favorite pursuit, but his eyesight has long been very deficient and his physical strength apparently exhausted, yet by a most careful method of living the frail bark has borne its voyager over troubled waters, or to speak literally through a recent attack of typhoid fever, without the aid of a physician—all schools of medicine being abhorred by him. Perhaps if his old friend Dr. James S. Scott had been living he would have consented to have him call, but he passed over some dozen years ago. His mild, benevolent face was like a holy benediction at the bedside of the sick and the dying. He was the poor man's friend, helper and healer, and such was the confidence the people had in him that he was not allowed to lay his harness off until his limbs, yearly growing feebler and feebler brought him to the very edge of the grave where he now sleeps in peace, and the sweet aroma of his name now lingers after him. His crippled son James C. has the genius for money-making and is rapidly becoming, if he is not, one of our wealthiest men. He was county judge for three terms and a most just one. Sometimes, at least, the righteous prosper.

Here a word might as well be said about Daniel Carpenter who now for some five years has laid his burden down. Perhaps he saw more returning springs than any one whose remains repose in Linn Grove Cemetery. He wanted but eleven and one-half years of filling out a century. He was for many years a pensioner of the government for services rendered in the war of 1812. He came here with his family in 1871, and his fine farm house and barn built the next year on the brow of the hill overlooking the town, were a standing evidence of his confidence in the future of farming under Union Colony canals. His son Leroy succeeds him, and his talented wife is a leader in the humanitarian movements of the M. E. Church of this place.

Few men went into our colonial movement with more enthusiasm than William McClellan, and to an observer with more promise of success. Before coming he had a long experience in general farming and stockraising in Illinois. He brought with him a large capital, got two fine bodies of land and also imported fine breeds of horses and cattle. He was by nature diligent in business and diverted from it by no frivolous pursuits or pastimes. He also was a close thinker and calculator, and is a man of mental acuteness. Yet his success has in no sense been marked. It is doubtful if one year with another he has made more than expenses. Of course his real estate has increased in value, and so he may be worth more money than when he left Illinois, and that is by no means certain. What then is the cause of this want of success? Trying to do too many things, squandering effort in too many directions. Want of succeeding in managing men, and in securing reliable managers in his absence. His two farms were far apart, and his cattle business often took him away from both.

Since the death of his wife his life has been a sad one. She seems to have been the one oasis in the dreary desert of his pilgrimage. She was the golden link uniting him to what was worth living for on earth. Of his sad failure in attempting to restore this lost relationship little need be said. To some women is given the divine mission of softening and sweetening lives otherwise harsh and hard, and in the hands of such women they become docile and manageable. Their unselfish generosity breeds a reciprocal generosity, and mutual magnanimity will spring up as naturally as the grass grows under rain and sunshine. It is not however here to be hinted that Mr. McClellan is without native generosity, on the contrary he has liberal impulses in certain directions. It is worthy of notice that he made the largest subscription towards the Meeker monument. He was one of Mr. Meeker's warmest friends, and the ability to appreciate such a man as Mr. Meeker argues that the one displaying this quality is a genuinely upright and sterling man. His activity continues remarkable for one of his age and emaciated frame, and in it he no doubt finds the best antidote to the loneliness which hangs over his life since the bereavement mentioned, and which is greatly intensified by his nearly complete deafness.

Of the four lady friends mentioned by Mr. Packard as so instrumental in building up the Congregational Church two passed away nearly about the same time, some twelve years ago, Mrs. McClellan just mentioned and Mrs. Ingalsbe. Mrs. J. H. Johnson survives her husband but has long been living in Detroit, Michigan, though making frequent visits to Greeley where she still has many warm friends especially among the ladies who worked together to build up the church named. Mrs. Plumb, no doubt the oldest of the four, still survives, active and cheerful as ever, and this leads us to speak more particularly of Mr. Ovid Plumb's career particularly since joining the colony.

He was one of the few who brought here a large capital and put it all either into real estate in Greeley or into agricultural ventures. He once owned all the lots fronting Lincoln Park on Monroe street, that is from the corner occupied by the National Bank block to and including that occupied by the Unitarian church. He has gradually disposed of all these business lots and now owns but a few lots in town near his own residence. Mr. Plumb finally concluded to engage in an agricultural venture independent of the colony, selling out his outside claims and buying a large tract of land on the south side of the Platte about five miles from Greeley. There were about 1,200 acres of this farm, which was nearly all bottom land. However, he took out an independent ditch to irrigate it and turn it all into productive meadow. Extensive reading on the subject led him to the conclusion that in all countries first-class meadow lands were the most valuable, and that the most productive meadows were irrigated. To bring these lands under irrigation Mr. Plumb had a careful survey made and large ditches constructed, in which openings were made by boxes at the highest points of the land so that big heads of water could be let loose and require but little attention. A system for meadows he clearly saw must be entirely different from one for plow land, and his plans were conceived with good judgment and executed with ability. Mr. Plumb has also experimented with quite a large number of cultivated grasses, not indigenous to this region, and finds many of them worthless here for meadows. He finds that some winter kill while others are crowded out—are not able to stand the competition in the struggle for life. Of the substitutes he finds only three valuable: red top for the lower, wetter places, and timothy and meadow fescue for the lands that need irrigation. Mr. Plumb is a man of broad views and a careful experimenter. He has had a collegiate education. He attended Williams College, Massachusetts, two years, when Mark Hopkins was president, and had as one of his classmates the now celebrated American philologist, W. D. Whitney, of Yale. He had a reputation for eloquence among his college classmates, as he was appointed on one occasion Fourth of July orator for the undergraduates of Williams college. It would appear, however, that like the celebrated parliamentary orator, Hamilton, his maiden effort was his only one, as during all our exciting public meetings of the early days his voice was never heard; nor do we remember to have ever seen an article in the Greeley papers from his pen. He sometimes dropped into meetings of the Farmers' Club, but never took any part in the lyceums. He is well read, not only on agricultural subjects but in general science, and his conversation is valuable and fruitful on a variety of subjects. He brought here one of the largest, best selected, libraries of our early days, especially valuable in scientific works. Besides the two years spent at Williams he took a year at Brown University, Rhode Island, and then had one year in law, which profession, however, he did not enter, but entered upon the paternal farm which was situated in Chemung county, New York. He soon left that and engaged in manufacturing lumber and wood work, in which he was engaged some twenty years before joining the colony. His lands, which were selected with wise discretion from the evidence then before the mind, have not turned out so valuable as the first-class agricultural lands he could then have purchased for the same money. This is owing to the fact before mentioned of the revolution brought about by the cultivation of alfalfa as a forage plant—so short-sighted are the wisest in forecasting the future. Mr. Plumb's family have always lived in town, until lately his sons

Augustus and Edward have taken the management of the farm, cattle, horses and sheep which they keep in connection with the farm, and all of which business they manage wisely and well. Mr. Plumb, who is now 67 years old, lives in town with his amiable, well-read, discreet, matronly wife—his sons being engaged as above related and their only daughter being married for some years to H. N. Haynes of whom our readers have heard elsewhere in this narrative. She, however, lives on the next block, so mother and daughter can easily step in and out, daily. The daughter has the reading and domestic habits of father and mother and is tending carefully and tenderly their "olive branches." May it not be that if Mr. Haynes' domestic life were less complete, his social life would be more extended, and society at large be the gainer. Had the hearth of Socrates been more inviting, would the market place of Athens have been so often entertained with his delightful dialogues? Life has for all compensations, and all the good or evil of it is rarely crowded into the existence of one couple.

Daniel Hawks and James Tuckerman have for a time been conducting a large farm in "Lone Tree" in connection with dairying, but although Mr. Tuckerman, who is the manager of this concern is a most active wide awake man the dairying is not found profitable, and they are about going out of it. They had here machinery for separating the cream while the milk was yet fresh and warm, and hence was better for the calves. The difficulty is, wages are too high for the price of butter. The creamery butter of Iowa and Nebraska now keeps the market supplied with a good article at a low figure.

Mr. August Boye is one of the most successful farmers in the colony. In addition to cultivating a large body of land by irrigation he has another extensive tract of seepage land which he has tile drained. He married a young lady, the daughter of Doctor Carroll, from Georgia, and this led him to buy some peach orchard lands in that state, which, however, he does not find profitable. He likes to spend his winters there but he finds farming in Colorado far more profitable.

Here we might as well speak of Dr. Camp, also from Georgia. He came here soon after the colony was started and has bought and cultivates extensive tracts of lands and also in company with his sons keeps an extensive herd of cattle. In all these things the Doctor prospers. He has the art of making money, and also of saving it. He made money in Georgia before coming here. He was a Union man at the time the war broke out but succeeded in escaping with his life from there to the North and also in turning his property for the most part into cash, and saving it.

Here also might be mentioned Joel E. Davis also from the South, but who was by no means a Union man. He brought much capital to this place which he has gradually invested judiciously in lands near Greeley. These lands he for the most part rents, and finds the profits equal to Colorado high interest.

There are many other worthy men in and around Greeley from the South, as for instance W. H. Delbridge, long engaged in the cattle business but now a merchant in town. Also the two families of Hopkins, which came from East Tennessee with but little or no capital and are now all well to do. Of those coming from East Tennessee, E. J. Price deserves special mention. He was in the Union army during the war and after it married the then widow daughter of Judge Clark. He and his wife followed the Clark family here, and although on coming he was worth scarcely more than a team and wagon, he soon made property at farming, and when he sold out two years ago realized about $10,000. He then traveled over a large part of the Union seeking for a more desirable locality but failed in the quest. He now lives in town, is engaged in handling of farm produce, but also owns and has land farmed in the vicinity.

The late John C. Kendel was also from Tennessee, and during his life was one of the most popular citizens of the county. Though he belonged to the Democratic party, which is far in the minority in this county, still he was always elected to every county office for which his party put him up. His genial manners and benevolent disposition made him a general favorite. His estimable wife lives in Greeley and is rearing and educating their interesting children.

The growing beauty of our town is yearly attracting more and more people of wealth and refinement to settle here, even when their business is somewhat remote. This may be said to be the case with C. W. Wulfjen, whose principal headquarters for his large herd of cattle are in Texas. His daughters, talented in both music and elocution, are quite an accession to the cultivated society of the place.

During the years when fortunes were being rapidly made in the Colorado stock business, many families of wealth and refinement came to Greeley to live and engage in that business on the neighboring plains. Prominent among these are the two families of Gales both from Massachusetts, but not otherwise related.

O. P. Gale on coming here first engaged in the stock business, but gradually withdrew from it and went into handling farm produce. He organized the Greeley Mercantile Company of which mention has been made, and was its able manager until his sudden death. Before this he had built one of the finest residences in Greeley, and here his fair young widow still lives with their two beautiful children.

C. A. Gale is brother of the above, and has also since coming to Greeley, mostly engaged in handling farm produce. His wife and four accomplished capable daughters are not only a valuable accession to Greeley society but a fine example of how useful even handsome well-educated young ladies may be. One of them, for instance, is bookkeeper in *The Tribune* office and passes the "copy" of this manuscript through her fair fingers, and is here accredited with materially reducing the number of its errors. The eldest some years ago became the wife of George S. Adams, cashier of Union Bank, before noted.

J. O. Gale, the first of the other family of that name to come to Greeley, managed the cattle business of his brothers, who for a while remained back in Massachusetts. But Jesse S. came here and also built in town some six years ago, and since then has been the principal manager of the business. David Gale, wife and daughter have been here for some two years. About that date back they bought the Ogilvy ranch of 640 acres, which they now keep as a headquarters at which to winter the weaker ones of their herds. Somewhat more than a half of the farm is seeded to alfalfa and supplies the needed hay, and David Gale informs the writer that this winter feeding amply pays. In this way a more humane practice of stock management is taking the place of the old, cruel, reckless one.

The sad accident that befell the Gale family last September is still fresh in the minds of every one, but on account of the deep impression it made on the whole people ought to be recorded here.

E. H. Gale and wife had not lived steadily in Greeley, usually spending the summer here and the winter in Massachusetts. They were here, however, at the date mentioned, and E. H. Gale started early on the morning of the 25th of September to drive over to the farm we have spoken of, having in the rear seat of the carriage his sister-in-law, Mrs. J. S. Gale, and Miss Gleason, the niece of his wife, and whom they had recently adopted as a daughter. At the railroad crossing the rear of the carriage was struck by a freight train, which was behind time and running at over-speed, and was concealed in its approach by another train standing on a side track. Miss Gleason was instantly killed and Mrs. Gale died of the injuries eight hours afterwards. Mr. E. H. Gale was thrown from the carriage but suffered no physical injuries; such, however, was the shock to his feelings that he never recovered his spirits and died of an attack of influenza a few months afterwards. Thus his wife is doubly bereaved in a few months, and life has lost for her its fragrance and its bloom. Neither affluent circumstances nor a mind richly furnished with the treasures of literature, philosophy and religion can furnish any adequate consolation for such a sorrow. Day after day the weary hours drag themselves along, and no sufficing answer is returned from the sky which has become "as of brass," to the heart's question, "Why are we so cruelly torn apart?"

In this group of New England people who have come to live in Greeley, while keeping stock on the range, belongs A. T. Bacon, a son of Dr. Leonard Bacon, of New Haven, Connecticut, and a graduate of Yale College. He is manager of the New England Live Stock company, and has apparently made his permanent home here, having not only built himself a spacious house, but several others in town. He is just retiring as Mayor of the city for the past year. His modest and unassuming wife is the daughter of Professor Woolsey, president of Yale College from 1846 to 1871, and author of the standard American treatise on international law. In these two the people of Greeley have a valuable addition to the thinking and refined class.

Other men of wealth besides those engaged in the cattle business have made Greeley their home, and have made purchases of real estate. Prominent among these may be mentioned Robert Hale, who has built him a beautiful residence on Main street, and bought largely of real estate in its vicinity. He is quite public-spirited and keeps things moving.

Here also belongs Judge Warren Currier who has made large investments in Greeley property. He cannot in strictness be said to have made Greeley his home, as he spends his time about equally here and in Florida or Southern California, but his sons, Henry and George, have been settled here now a long time. They are both worthy of note aside from the fact that they are sons of a wealthy man. Henry has long been one of our most successful sheepmen. He has a fine location on the Box Elder, some twenty-five miles southeast of Greeley for his flocks, while he makes his home in town. He married a Greeley girl, a daughter of the Rev. A. K. Packard, who is bringing up for him and herself a family of fair children. George Currier is said to be the greatest expert in bookkeeping in our midst, and he is now Treasurer both of Weld county and the Greeley School Board. Though deeply tinged with the Greenback heresy and inclined to Nationalism, yet he is so popular that when he is put up for an office it is common for all parties to put him on their tickets. He, too, is fulfilling the divine injunction of doing his part in replenishing the population.

Speaking of sheepmen we must not pass over Edward K. Packard, brother-in-law of Henry F. Currier, with whom Mr. Packard learned his business. There is no better kept, heavier shearing flock in the county than the one Mr. Packard keeps at his ranch near Carr station in the summer, and in the farming district near Greeley during the winter. He has also lately purchased a farm under the Larimer and Weld canal, where he will raise alfalfa for winter forage, and will no doubt find it profitable to unite both kinds of business. He has been living for the most part in town, but now that he has built a fine brick house on the above designated farm, he will no doubt live for the most part in the country.

Among the men who have made money in stock-raising in connection with farming, and made their home in Greeley, none better deserves mention than Asa Sterling. He has a large farm principally devoted to producing alfalfa hay, some ten miles down the Platte. He is chiefly engaged in raising horses, and has made money in the business, and is also a heavy stockholder in the First National bank. For a man of close business habits he is liberal and public-spirited. The same may be said of George K. Peasley, who also lives in Greeley and is in the cattle business. Three of the Wyatt brothers, cattlemen and farmers, make their home in Greeley and contribute their full share to its prosperity.

There were but few Scotchmen among the earliest colonists and now "the land of cakes" is better represented around Fort Collins than Greeley. A. Gilchrist was the only one of note that the writer remembers. During the first summer he went into lumbering with Henry Watson, as related. But he had a misunderstanding with the colony officials and left Greeley in 1871, and went into the cattle business with headquarters near Livermore. He made a large fortune rapidly, and is now in Cheyenne doing a banking business.

Robert Kennison was also of Scotch birth, but came here from Utah. He engaged in the cattle business, keeping a small herd near town. His wife was quite a business woman and kept while here a grocery store. He left after living some six years in Greeley, returning to Utah. If he was not a Mormon in faith and practice, he was quite an admirer of that people, and defended them with zeal.

Peter Brown came in 1872. He was an excellent mechanic in the line of house building. As work was not plenty just at that time in Greeley he went down to Green City, which was then having an illusive "boom." For much of his work done there he got no pay. Returning to Greeley he remained here partly working at his trade and partly farming until the spring of 1876, when he started for Southern Kansas. He drove through by wagon and returned in a year in the same way, having used up all his savings. But he started in with courage again and has gradually made him a fine farm in Lone Tree valley. He is one of our best and most successful farmers. He has his full share of Scotch shrewdness and perseverance.

Charles Wallace, who bought out S. Blodgett, in Pleasant valley, is a Scotchman, as he ought to be from his name, and is also a successful farmer and financier.

We have before spoken of John Templeton in connection with grasshopper capturing, and a word must be said of his associate in farming in those days, Andrew Scott. He came here in 1872. He was a miller by trade, but could not just then find employment, so he went into farming with Templeton during the grasshopper years. But such was their indomitable perseverance that if much could not be made farming under such disadvantages, yet they did not fall behind. Mr. Scott soon got a place in the Greeley flouring mills, where he remained for some eight years. Since then he has been engaged in the bakery business and makes a uniformly fine article of bread.

Few men coming here destitute of means have done better than S. B. Wright. He says that when he came here he had to borrow money of his father-in-law, T. E. Abbott, to buy a certificate. He used to excavate cellars by the job, and throw out the earth with a long-handled shovel. In fact he took hold of any hard job that paid well, and soon got a good foothold. He was one of our laboring men who had a good education and could talk well in meeting—not, however, of the religious kind. He never attended church save one year, and that was just after the United Presbyterian church was occupied. The story goes that the occasion was this: He wanted the Building Committee to put in a front of pressed brick. They asked him what he would do to help them if they did. He said that he would promise to attend their church every Sunday when he was in town for a year. They took him up, and "Sam" faithfully fulfilled his agreement, stopping off sharp when the year of his purgatory was out. However, he says that he enjoyed singing with the congregation the old Psalms of David. They then had no instrument and no trained choir, and he said it was of no consequence whether he was in time or at the proper pitch.

Mr. Wright is an out-and-out temperance man, is willing to lend a hand to a fallen brother, and has long been in good circumstances. He served his country three years during the war, of which he can relate many reminiscences. Since coming here he has been chiefly engaged in farming, horse-rearing and livery stable business.

William Darling, resembled many other colonists who expected to farming across the river their business, but built in town and left their wives and children there for the advantages to be reaped from schools, churches and society, while they themselves went out to the front and stayed there in tents or in dug-outs during the summer. This Mr. Darling did and opened up a fine farm in Lone Tree, which his son Frank has been ably carrying on for some years. The father is now spending the evening of his days beneath the shade of the wide-spread branches of cottonwoods planted eighteen years ago. Mrs. Darling had more than her share of the courage and pluck of our pioneer women, and from the first had unbounded faith in the future of Greeley. She is a leader in temperance reform and in missionary enterprises.

A number of men who from time to time have been elected to office from different parts of the county and thus led to make a temporary stay in Greeley have, after becoming better acquainted, resolved to make their permanent residence here. Conspicuous among these is B. D. Harper. During the contest between Greeley and Evans he was an Evans man, lived there, had a residence there and had a heavy interest in the so-called Evans courthouse that was blown down. But he was elected county commissioner and then treasurer, came to live temporarily in Greeley and finally built the second best residence in town. He has for a long time been cashier of the First National bank, was lately commander of the Grand Army post here, and his wife, who is a woman of great executive ability, is now president of the Woman's Relief corps. Mr. Harper was an officer during the war of the rebellion, and he organized and drilled the Greeley military company, whose term of service has just expired. These old feuds have long ago died out, and Mr. Harper has gracefully accepted the defeat of Evans by which he was a great loser.

A further word ought here to be said about one of our best citizens, Oliver Howard. He, too, is an old soldier, and was after the war connected with the Freedman's Bureau. Since coming here in 1871 he has been conspicuous in educational matters. He is a writer of some ability and occasionally indulges in verse, though he takes to it rather as a luxury. He has written much for the local papers, and also for Eastern magazines, by which many of his articles are accepted. His sister, the wife of Albert Howard, is also a writer in both prose and verse for Eastern periodicals. Mr. Howard has of late turned his attention to fiction, and he may yet turn off something in that line equal to "Looking Backward" or "Robert Elsmere." But what is particularly noteworthy is that Mr. Howard is a hard working man supporting by truck raising and truck peddling a large family, which he is educating as far as our schools afford opportunity, and in the intervals of this hard, and, if the reader pleases, dirty work, in the material sense, he conquers time for study and writing. The sister is also a hard worker, helping her husband manage a large dairy.

There is no pursuit so arduous, so exacting but the man or woman, who has the taste and determination, can conquer in it leisure for intellectual work and improvement. Only the intellectually indolent or indifferent have no time for these things. The writer is acquainted with a Greeley lady, the mother of eight children, the youngest a babe, who finds time to read, and read understandingly and thoroughly a number of works in history, science and philosophy every year, and this lady is by no means of a rugged constitution, in fact of rather a frail build, and her household affairs are not neglected, nor has she unlimited wealth to pay for her work being done. All this mental activity is due to the stimulating advice and direction of a relative and friend who is himself a scholar. Our readers may guess who is meant and may have some difficulty in determining, as this is true to some extent of more ladies than one in Greeley.

It is farther to be said that Mrs. Oliver Howard is a woman of literary and executive ability, of which she gave a proof when president of the Womans' Relief corps, at the late meeting of that body and the Grand Army in Greeley, when she made one of the best speeches of the occasion.

A number of the citizens of Greeley served in the army during the late war, as seen by our notice of the Grand Army post here. Some of these we have mentioned in other connections, but two of our leading physicians who served there deserve more particular notice here. But before naming them we will speak of Dr. J. B. Barclay, who came here early in 1870 and took up his quarters in the Hotel de Comfort, with the crowd, and did his full share of the grumbling. He had served all through the war as an army surgeon. He never became quite reconciled to the management here and joined the Longmont Colony the winter following. Here he still practices, though now past the traditional human goal of life—three score and ten. He is still straight as an arrow and likes to parade with the "old boys" of the Grand Army, dressed in the full uniform of a United States army surgeon.

But when the Doctor departed from here he left his daughter, Mrs. W. R. Norcross, whose ability is well known, and whose bright, little daughter, Katie, is the delight of the place—the sweet-throated nightingale of Greeley.

Mr. Norcross saw much rough service in the army of Virginia, and if any one wants to know how a pontoon bridge is built across a river under the fire of the enemy, he had better consult him, since he volunteered to help to construct one in front of the heights of Fredericksburg.

Drs. G. Law and Jesse Hawes are the two above referred to and are here united in a final sketch.

Dr. G. Law is a native of West Virginia and when the war broke out he immediately left the medical college, where he was attending, and enlisted in the ranks. He soon got the position of hospital steward, and then was commissioned as assistant surgeon. But preferring the more active duties of the battlefield he accepted a captaincy in his company and with it was through many a hard fight and march under General Averill. In '64 he was captured and was eight months in different rebel prisons, and suffered all the hardships incident to those pens of filth and famine. During these months of imprisonment he broke prison three times and, once with a comrade was out ten days, in which the Federal lines were almost reached, and during which the utmost coolness and audacity were demanded.

Soon after the war the Doctor mounted his sulky and headed his horse for the West, seeking a better field for the practice of his profession than his native hills of West Virginia. He had fared as far as Blissfield, near the southeast corner of Michigan, and there stopped to bait his horse and get a lunch for himself. The landlord informed him that Doctor Newcomb, the principal physician of the place, was getting too old to manage his large and growing practice. He sought an interview with him and the result was a partnership and a most cordial friendship. However, when the Union Colony was organized, they took a joint membership, and Dr. Law came out here among the first. About his early life let us hear the Doctor himself as he described it in article written for *The Greeley Tribune* of the date of July 26, 1876. By way of preface we may inform later comers to Colorado that sunburnt or adobe brick were nearly wholly used the first summer in building houses not of wood. Mr. Meeker built the front building of the residence of the Meeker family of this material, and also *The Tribune* building. The latter has been fronted on two of the outside walls with kiln-burned brick, and the former stuccoed by means of driving nails into the brick, leaving out the heads to make a better bond between the cement-mortar and the adobe. James Henry was the inventor of this practice and the walls of his own house on the farm are made in this way.

The only relic of this kind of building now left in its native hideousness is one to the northeast of S. B. Wright's residence and was built by Daniel Ranney in 1871. Those who will take the pains to observe it will see that it is eaten under near the ground, and that coarse gravel was mixed abundantly in the clay. This made it last much longer than it otherwise would. It also was a low one-story building, with projecting eaves, and has been painted several times. We will now hear the Doctor who, it will be seen, can drive a most vigorous quill upon proper provocation:

"I propose to talk about the adobe house I built during the summer of 1870. The old colonists will remember the energy, labor, perseverance and hard work I personally put into that mud pile in the face of the scoffs and sneers of the incredulous. As I now recollect it, I should think enough force, endurance and pluck was thus wasted to have, if properly used, annihilated Sitting Bull, Standing Bull, Bull of the Woods and Living Bull. I have left John Bull out of the list, because as we have him with us, he has been and is one of my valued friends, and I would expend a large amount of energy to prevent harm coming to him.

"Six inches of rainfall in one day and night, such as we had last May, was too much for adobes, and the concrete wall under the adobe fared no better. The water infiltered through it like a sieve, and left it a crumbling mass of sand and gravel. So I found it yesterday, when, with the assistance of a competent bricklayer, I attempted to repair the crumbling foundation of the old adobe house on the corner of Pine street and Adams avenue. The condition necessitated the removal of my family and household goods to safer quarters. As a builder of adobe houses I confess myself a failure. Indeed I have a conception sufficiently vivid that adobe built by anybody, unless it be by a Mexican, is a failure sooner or later. I have gone out of the adobe business, and hereby notify my friends, and enemies, too, that I am sensitive on this subject, and if too closely pressed in that direction, I might manifest temporary insanity to the endangering of the public peace.

"I pitched my tent on that little parallelogram-shaped piece of ground early in May, 1870, and said, 'Here I will make a home.' I had only $350 in pocket, and how to get up a house with that sum was the question. I was asinine enough to believe what was told me by the awful 59er and the still more awful 49er. Salt Lake City was said to be happy in durable mud houses, and this country was represented as being an exact counterpart of the great saline inland basin. So I said I would build an adobe house, and took off my coat and went at it. Oh, how hot the sun shone, and how sore my muscles were at even, when the sun sank in the purple haze behind the mountains. How the aristocratic boarders at the Hotel de Comfort used to laugh at me when they stopped on their daily tour of inspection. I was too tired at night to attend their pow-wows, except occasionally, and thus was cheated by my adobe out of much that was unique in human experience, the like of which will probably never be seen again. Sometimes during that summer we had small showers of rain, that considerably shook my confidence in adobe, and now I wish that we had had a good square rain, like the one last May. In September we did have a shower, which would have done the business for my adobe, only the carpenters had just got on the roof in time to save it; and so it went through, although the water soaked into the walls to the depth of two inches. Two days of the sunshine that succeeded this mild equinoctial dried it out again. And this led me to think of paint. I had paid the carpenters and lumber dealers nearly all the money I had left. My wife was now doing washing by the dozen, and keeping day boarders, in order to buy food while I worked at our adobe house. With two dollars and fifty cents I bought ten pounds of iron brown, ten gallons of raw linseed oil at two dollars a gallon and a cheap paint brush, and I went to work; and for two years it stood as a landmark, known as the black house, a scoff and a by-word to people who thought themselves wiser. In my pride and self-will against my better judgment, and partly because of my extreme poverty, I put two months straight work on the worthless pile during the summer of 1872. Again in the summer of 1873 I hired a painter and expended one hundred and fifty dollars in paints and labor, and have lived in constant solicitude ever since, watching the cracks widen and the plaster fall from the ceilings. I have struggled through too much folly and poverty to quit now. My cottonwoods around that sacred little spot of ground have grown thick, rank and shady, until I have to go outside their line to see the purple and crimson sunset that I used to enjoy so much sitting in a chair outside the diminutive shanty on the northwest corner of the lot, after my day's toil, smoking my pipe and dreaming my dreams, which I have not yet relinquished—during the brief summer evenings of that, to Greeley, memorable summer of 1870. That dear wife, who though in frail health, toiled with me for bread, is now sleeping in the cottonwood grove east of town, but upon this spot where she and I toiled in our poverty and dissappointment, God willing, I will rear her children, and hope to die where she died, and be buried by our children by her side. The bricklayers will proceed at once to duplicate that house in good burned brick. I shall stay in my office and attend to the only thing I know how to do, since to it I have given the best thought of my life—my profession."

And well the Doctor has succeeded putting money in his purse; but though he cannot be said to have neglected his profession in any of its details, yet he has by no means confined his studies to it. We have seen him as an inventor of an apparatus for measuring water, we have also noted what he said about our artesian wells. He has made a special study of the geology of this section, and has a general knowledge of that science. He also spent some time in assaying telluride ores, and discovered a new process for their reduction. We have also seen him as one of the principal movers in establishing the Irrigation Pump Works in Greeley, and now his active and energetic mind is occupied during the few leisure moments he can call his own from a large practice, in inventing improvements in steam pumps. He is one of our most public-spirited citizens and his purse is as open as his heart towards all liberal and progressive movements.

His coming was the means of bringing here the rest of his father's family. The latter soon after our settlement sold out his broad acres among the hills of Virginia and bought a fine tract of land at the head of Black Hollow under Canal Number Two. Here he farmed successfully for a number of years, but has been for some time retired to spend the evening of his day in Greeley.

His sons, "Dow" and John, are growing rich farming. The latter married the other "Lapham girl"—as the two plucky independent "Puritan maidens" were called, who undertook horticulture on a five acre lot west of Greeley in those abominable grasshopper times. The Doctor had married one and John seeing what an excellent wife she made laid siege to the heart of the other—a fortress not supposed to be easy of reduction—as Flora had the reputation of being a man hater.

Besides James Beetham and W. H. Brockway already mentioned there came from Blissfield along with Dr. Law, J. F. Fezer, now for many years engaged in the drug business, in which he has succeeded admirably, and has become one of our wealthy substantial men, though he came here bare handed and shoveled dirt and dug ditches like any Irish immigrant during the first summer. Opportunity is always open to men who knock importunately at its gate.

Dr. Jesse Hawes is another man of true grit and determination, which overcome all barriers. His career before coming here closely resembles that of the physician we have been narrating. He left the academy where he was attending school, and enlisted as a private in the ranks of the Grand Army of the Republic. He too was taken prisoner and confined in a rebel prison pen known as "Castle Morgan" near Cahaba, Alabama, where he suffered what has been graphically told by him in a volume of intense interest lately published. He also broke prison and nearly effected his escape into the Union lines, with two others.

On being mustered out of the army at the close of the war, he took a course in medicine at Ann Arbor, and upon graduating, made a trip in Europe principally for the purpose of extending his studies in medicine in the hospitals of London and Paris. On returning to America he took another course in New York City, and came to Greeley in 1872 to begin his medical career in our midst. He was no doubt induced to come on information from his sister, Mrs. W. F. Thompson who had been here from the first; and liked the place. The writer became acquainted with him soon after coming here through their mutual friend, Professor H. S. Cheever of Michigan University, and will always remember the positive way in which the young Doctor expressed himself about his having deliberately selected this town for his residence, and his confidence in winning success; and amply he has vindicated his determination, and forecast of the future. The writer knows no man more capable of following to a hair's breadth a line of work deliberately planned beforehand. He is not a specialist in his profession, but he makes the studies of his profession a specialty, shut out quite closely from other lines of thought. This does not hinder him, however, from taking a lively interest in the welfare of the town, and working for its best interests. In company with J. M. Wallace he has been appointed a director of the State Normal School, and during the first few years of its being, these two resident directors will have their hands full of poorly remunerated business. But whatever either undertakes to do, we know will be done thoroughly, and it is a line in which both have new spurs to win.

Except so far as publishing certain matters deemed worthy of preservation for reference in appendices herewith following, our task now is done. Events and movements which have appeared worthy of presentation in this collected form have engaged our attention, and to these have been added some incidents more purely biographical. The author has deemed these needful to make the outline of the picture more complete. Perfectly complete it cannot be. The incidents and experiences in the lives of each one of us who has come near the margin of the stream that divides "the here and the there" would fill a thicker volume than this one, and if told with the power to thrill others as it does us when recalled in hours of retrospection, would be well worth the narrating. But we must all be satisfied with a much smaller hearing than this, and must largely be each his own auditor of the voices that come to us from our past experiences. The names selected have been so far as possible, representative. Those who have signally failed as well as those who have succeeded have been deemed necessary to give the picture its shading. Persons of much eccentricity of character abounded among the first settlers, and an omission of the most prominent of these would have left our picture a too flattering one. So there has been an endeavor to limn Greeley "warts and all," as Oliver Cromwell ordered the painter to do in a picture for which he was sitting.

# THE APPENDICES.

---

## APPENDIX A.

### CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE UNION COLONY, ORGANIZED IN NEW YORK, DECEMBER 23, 1869.

The object of the above named Colony shall be to settle on Government or other cheap land in the West, to the end that men may engage in various industries and pursuits, and that they may have homes of their own, and that schools and churches may be convenient.

**Article I.** The officers shall be a President, Vice-President, Treasurer and Executive Committee, appointed by the Colony in session, and a Committee of Location, an Auditing Committee and a Secretary appointed by the Executive Committee. The duties of the various officers shall be the same as belong to other organized bodies.

**Art. II.** The Secretary shall receive such compensation as the Executive Committee shall hereafter provide, and the Auditing Committee shall examine the accounts and report monthly to the Colony.

**Art. III.** The Locating Committee shall select with their best judgment a location suitable for the settlement of the Colony.

**Art. IV.** The President shall represent the Colony, and always act under its direction when practicable, and shall report his actions at each meeting of the Executive Committee.

**Art. V.** Terms of office are to continue until successors are appointed, unless removals are required on account of incompetence or misconduct, and during the interim of Colony meetings, removals may be made by the Executive Committee.

**Art. VI.** The Executive Committee shall make such rules and regulations and inaugurate such measures as shall result in attaining in the best manner the object for which the Colony is organized.

**Art. VII.** Persons wishing to become members must be temperance men, and of good moral character, and they must pay an initiation fee of $5 to the Treasurer; also pay to the Treasurer, Hon. Horace Greeley, *Tribune* office, New York, $150 on or before the 15th of February, 1870.

**Art. VIII.** When the Locating Committee shall have found a suitable locality for the Colony, they shall report the same to the Executive Committee, who shall order the Treasurer to purchase the same with funds on hand belonging to the members, and take a deed for the land in trust for the Colony. Afterward the Treasurer shall deed designated parcels of land to the several members as the Executive Committee shall direct, and such deeds shall be executed whenever a member in good faith enters upon his land, particularly village property, to make improvements agreeably to the object for which the Colony is established. If members neglect to make such improvements within one year, no deed shall be given, and the amount paid in shall be refunded with 7 per cent. interest, and the land shall be deeded to such a one as shall make the improvements, with the approval of the Executive Committee.

ART. IX. After the land shall be vested with the Treasurer in trust, the Executive Committee shall proceed to lay out four quarter sections, or 640 acres, located centrally, or most convenient, into blocks of ten acres each, and these shall be divided into lots from half an acre to one acre and a quarter each, for residences and to form a village, but a portion of the lots may be from three to five acres each. In the center, or conveniently, a plaza or square of ten acres shall be laid out for the business portion of the town, and grounds shall be reserved for a park not exceeding fifty acres.

ART. X. The lots so laid out shall be sold to the various members, ranging from $25 to $50 each, and the proceeds therefrom shall be devoted to the building of a schoolhouse and a town hall, and to the establishment of a reading room and library free to all members, and to other necessary improvements for the common welfare. Lots are to be held in reserve for sale at advanced prices to such as may wish to join after the Colony lands are occupied.

ART. XI. The land adjoining the town plot may be divided into lots of 5, 10, 40 or 80 acres, according to their distance from the town center, and deeded to the members as they may choose, and additional lots at greater distances may also be selected by them, so that the aggregate value may be equal to the value of a quarter section on the outer line of the colonial property, of which members may have each one undivided quarter section, but no more, with the exception of lots in the village, of one acre and a quarter, one to each, and each member may make his own selection.

ART. XII. Five half-acre lots in the village shall be reserved for church purposes, which shall be free to such denominations of Christians as may choose to build thereon.

ART. XIII. The object of this Colony being as above stated, no member can be permitted to disconnect himself from the village or town organization, by erecting his dwelling on his outlying land, to be relieved from his share of the expenses necessary for establishing schools and general improvements, nor can any member own a town lot unless in good faith he build thereon. But nothing herein shall prevent a member from residing on his farming land should he so choose, nor shall religious tests of any kind be required as a condition of membership.

## APPENDIX B.

### CERTIFICATE OF ORGANIZATION OF THE UNION COLONY OF COLORADO FILED FOR RECORD AT 3 O'CLOCK P. M., APRIL 15TH, A. D. 1870. FRANK E. MOYER, RECORDER.

WHEREAS, We the undersigned Nathan C. Meeker, Robert A. Cameron, Henry T. West, William N. Byers, and Daniel Witter desire to form a company for the purpose of carrying on the business of manufacturing and mining, constructing wagon roads and bridges, digging and maintaining ditches, aiding, encouraging and inducing emigration to the Territory of Colorado, building churches, academies and schoolhouses, and carrying on other branches of business designed to aid in the industrial and productive interests of the country under the provisions of Chapter Eighteen of the Revised Statutes of Colorado, and the amendments thereto approved February 11th, 1870; therefore

*We do hereby certify:*

FIRST. That the corporate name of said company shall be The Union Colony of Colorado. That said company is formed for the following purposes, to-wit:

1st. For the purpose of manufacturing flour, lumber, brick, furniture and all kinds of manufactured goods, wares and merchandise.

2nd. For the purpose of mining for iron, coal and other minerals.

3rd. For the purpose of constructing wagon roads and bridges.

4th. For the purpose of constructing and maintaining ditches and canals.

5th. For the purpose of erecting, maintaining, holding and keeping in repair a house or houses of public worship.

6th. For the purpose of providing, holding, maintaining and keeping in repair a place for the burial of the dead.

7th. For the purpose of establishing and maintaining academies and schools for the education of youth.

8th. For the purpose of aiding, encouraging and inducing immigration to the Territory of Colorado; and

9th. For the purpose of carrying on other branches of business designed to aid the industrial and productive interests of the country.

SECOND. The amount of the capital stock of said company shall be twenty-five thousand dollars [25,000] which shall be divided into five thousand shares of five dollars each.

THIRD. The term of the existence of said company shall be for twenty years.

FOURTH. The affairs of said corporation shall be managed by five trustees, and the following named persons shall be such trustees for the first year and until their successors are elected, to-wit:

Nathan C. Meeker, Robert A. Cameron, Henry T. West, William N. Byers and Daniel Witter.

FIFTH. The principal business of said company shall be carried on in the town of Greeley, in the County of Weld and Territory of Colorado, with the right to carry on a part of its business at places outside of said Territory.

SIXTH. The trustees of said company shall have power to make such prudential by-laws as they may deem proper for the management and disposition of the stock and business affairs of said company, for prescribing the duties of officers, agents, artificers and servants that may be employed, and for the appointment of all officers and agents for carrying on all kinds of business within the objects and purposes of said company.

SEVENTH. The wagon roads to be constructed by said company are to be from the town of Greeley in the County of Weld aforesaid, intersecting other roads, and the bridges to be built are to cross the Platte river and the Cache la Poudre river in townships No. 5 and 6 north of range No. 65 west.

EIGHTH. The said company propose to take the water for their said ditches or canals from the Cache la Poudre river and from Big Thompson river as follows, to-wit: First—On the north side of said Cache la Poudre river, at or near the foot of the canon above the town of La Porte in the County of Larimer, Territory of Colorado, to be carried thence at a grade not to exceed five feet fall to the mile along the most convenient and practicable line easterly to Crow creek, in the County of Weld aforesaid. Second—On the north side of said Cache la Poudre river on or near section 11, in township No. 6 north of range No. 68 west, to be carried thence at a grade not to exceed five feet fall to the mile along the most convenient and practicable line easterly to Crow creek in the County of Weld aforesaid. Third—On the south side of said Cache la Poudre river, at or near a point seven miles above where the Denver Pacific railway crosses said stream, to be carried thence at a grade not to exceed five feet fall to the mile along the most convenient and practicable line easterly and southerly to the South Platte or Cache la Poudre river, either or both. Fourth—From Big Thompson river at a point on or near section No. 1 in township No. 4 north of range No. 66 west, to be carried thence at a grade not to exceed five feet fall to the mile northeasterly along the most convenient and practicable line to the South Platte or Cache la Poudre river, either or both, with such branches, races, aqueducts, flumes and embankments as shall be necessary or convenient for the construction, maintenance and use of each of said ditches.

NINTH. The water in said ditches is to be used and applied for the irrigation of lands and town lots, for manufacturing mechanical and culinary purposes, and for the conveyance through said ditches, of logs, lumber, wood, boats, goods, wares and merchandise.

# APPENDIX C.

## CIRCULAR.

GREELEY, COLORADO, MAY 16, 1870.

The Executive committee of Union Colony submit the following statement for the benefit of its members, and those interested in the Colony:

LANDS PURCHASED.

| *Who From.* | *When.* | *Acres.* | *Cost Per Acre.* | *Amount.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Denver Pacific Railway.. | April 11, 1870.. | 6,397 66-100ths | 25 descriptions $3.00 | $19,192.98 |
| " | " " " .. | 2,766 40-100ths | 12 " 4.00 | 11,065 60 |
| " | " " " .. | 160 | 2 " 5.00 | 800.00 |
| John Gates................ | " 7, " .. | 326 70-100ths | about 10.00 | 3,200 00 |
| A. J. Williams............ | " 22, " .. | 80 | 9.00 | 720.00 |
| W. R. Williams............ | " 20, " .. | 160 | | 2,000.00 |
| David H. Williams....... | " 20. " .. | 160 | | 2,000.00 |
| For obtaining the last three descriptions we paid Dr. Tuttle for services and traveling fees, as per bill........................ | | | | 284.50 |
| M. L. Smith.............. | April 6, 1870.. | 160 | | 2,000.00 |
| David Barnes............. | " 11, " .. | 126 98-100ths | 10.00 | 1,269.80 |
| E. Williams............... | " 7, " .. | 159 18-100ths | 10.00 | 1,600.00 |
| L. F. Bartels.............. | " 7, " .. | 200 | 8.00 | 1,600.00 |
| G. W. Phelps............. | " 9, " .. | 378 5-6ths | 10.00 | 3,788.00 |
| D. H. Moffat, Jr.,......... | " 9, " .. | 120 | 10 00 | 1,200 00 |
| J. Quigley.................. | " 7, " .. | 160 and his Hd., 80 acres, with house | | 2,800.00 |
| " ................ | " 7, " .. | 160 | | 2,000.00 |
| Bartels & Remick....... | " 7, " .. | 320 | 8.00 | 2,560.00 |
| Chas. B. Farwell.......... | May 10, " .. | 80 | 12.00 | 960.00 |
| Total Number of acres ........... | | 11,916 29-100ths | Amount paid, | $59,040.88 |
| Preliminary fees for occupancy of government lands. | | | | 930.00 |
| | | | | $59,970.88 |

RECAPITULATION:—Purchased from the railway company, 9,324 6-100ths acres, costing $31,058.58; purchased from individuals, 2,592 23-100ths acres, costing $27,982.30; preliminary fees for occupation of 60,000 acres, $930.00—making a total of $59,970.88.

The money paid for the above lands was drawn by drafts upon Horace Greeley, Treasurer of Union Colony, by N. C. Meeker, President, and R. A. Cameron, Vice President.

The Colony has a contract with the Denver Pacific Railway Co., to withdraw from public entry and permit us to purchase at any time within three years from May 1st, 1870, Fifty Thousand (50,000) acres of land, which are to be selected by the officers of the Colony as they wish, within certain bounds. The prices to be paid for said lands are as follows, viz: lands selected between the 1st of May, 1870, and the 1st of May, 1871, to be $3.00 per acre, with interest at six per cent. from May 1st. Those selected between the 1st of May, 1871, and the 1st of May, 1872, to be $3.50 per acre and interest at six per cent. from May 1, 1871. Those selected between the 1st of May 1872 and the 1st of May, 1873, to be $4.00 per acre, and interest at six per cent. from the 1st day of May, 1872.

Members who are willing to take 80 acres of Government land, commencing at a distance of about four (4) miles from the town site, for their membership will be allowed to take an additional and adjoining eighty acres of railroad land, by paying to the Colony the cost of the same at the time of the purchase, being $3 per acre, until May 1st, 1871. The water for irrigation to go with the land in all cases.

PROPOSED DIVISION OF LANDS.

130 5-acre lots, 650 acres
120 10-acre lots, 1,200 acres
100 20-acre lots, 2,000 acres
80 30-acre lots, 2,400 acres
80 40-acre lots, 3,200 acres
70 60-acre lots, 4,200 acres
70 80-acre lots, 5,600 acres
20 100-acre lots, 2,000 acres
10 120-acre lots, 1,200 acres
10 140-acre lots, 1,400 acres
10 160-acre lots, 1,600 acres

Total, 700 members, 25,450 acres.

Included in this land is that purchased from the railroad company, from former occupants, and the government lands, upon which we have a claim. A member is entitled to a lot of land, as he may select, of five, ten, twenty, forty or more acres, up to the largest number of acres the Colony can give anyone, for his One Hundred and Fifty Dollars, ($150.00) depending upon the distance from the town site. The nearer the town the less land, the farther off, the more. The five acre lots immediately adjoin the town. Improvements must be made upon outlying lands within one year from the date of the location of the Colony lands, viz: April 5th, 1870, to entitle a person to a deed, unless the same person purchases a town lot and improves that to satisfaction of the Executive Committee. This land is to be furnished with water for irrigation. The Colony digs the ditches, and each member of the Colony is liable to assessment for cost of keeping the same in repair. It is estimated that the ditches for irrigating the lands of the Colony, as stated, will cost about $20,000, for which there is money in the Treasury.

A member is also entitled to purchase town lots for residence and business purposes, either or both, at the minimum price of Fifty Dollars ($50.00) for corner, and Twenty-five Dollars ($25.00) for inside lots, the deeds for which will be given when members enter upon them in good faith, to the satisfaction of the Executive Committee. The money paid for town lots is to be expended for general village improvements.

TOWN LOTS.

There are in all, 1,224 lots, which are divided as follows:

Residence lots, 50x190 feet, 20 ft. alleys, 144
Residence lots, 100x190 feet, 20 ft. alleys, 408
Residence lots, 200x190 feet, 20 ft. alleys, 108
Business lots, 25x115 feet, 20 ft. alleys, 328
Business lots, 25x190 feet, 20 ft. alleys, 236
Reserved for schools, churches, town hall, court house, seminary, and other public uses, 81 lots.

RECAPITULATION:—Residence lots, 660; business lots, 483; reserved, 81.

The organization of the "Union Colony of Colorado" was a necessity to enable us to make contracts, binding upon the Colony, without which we could not have done anything in regard to irrigation, and many other things necessary to be done for the Colony. This organization is simply to do such things as could not otherwise be done, but it is to be distinctly understood that the members of the Colony are to control the municipal and all other matters relating to the Colony, according to the terms of the original organization.

Regarding the salaries of officers, we would say that the Executive Committee, in session in New York, determined that Mr. Meeker, President, should received the sum of One Hundred and Sixty Dollars ($160.00) per month for his services while actively engaged for the Colony; and that his son Ralph Meeker, as assistant secretary, should receive Fifty Dollars ($50.00) per month, until the business was closed in New York, which has already been ordered done. It was also agreed that Mr. Cameron, Vice-President, should act as superintendent, and after the location of the lands, should remain on the ground to receive the people and attend to their wants, and that for such actual services as superintendent, he should be paid the sum of Seven Dollars ($7.00) per day, until relieved by the Executive Committee. Upon Mr. West being appointed secretary, it was agreed that he should be paid Six Dollars ($6.00) per day for actual service, until relieved by the Executive Committee.

Lumber is still somewhat scarce, but a lumber yard has been established, and it will be more plentiful soon. The Colony have two large buildings and nine tents, and there will be no trouble about shelter, but we advise all to bring a good supply of bed clothing and blankets with them, as the nights are cool, and as some have come without any extra clothing, we desire that all hereafter shall come prepared.

The auditing Committee of the Colony will soon make a full report of the expenses attending the locating and purchase of the lands.

By order of the Executive Committee.

H. T. West,
Secretary.

R. A. Cameron,
Vice-President.

# APPENDIX D. (a).

UNION COLONY, NO. 1—LIST OF MEMBERS WHO HAVE PAID TO THE TREASURER $155—N. C. MEEKER, PRESIDENT; GEN. R. A. CAMERON, VICE-PRESIDENT; HORACE GREELEY, TREASURER.

---

**Alcoke, R. S.**
**Armstrong, J. J.**
**Adams, George**
**Ambrose, E. F.**
**Anderson, J. C.**
**Adams, E. D.**
**Abbey, R. P.**
**Andrews, W. J.**
**Ayer, Willington**
**Abbott, E. H.**
**Avery, Egbert**
**Atkinson, James**
**Atkinson, Sharon**
**Annis, Emma**
**Alphonse, E. C.**
**Atkinson, Thos.**
**Adams, R.**
**Avery, F. E.**
**Atkinson, E.**
**Alcoke, R. H.**
**Atwood, J. G.**
**Brandigee, Chas.**
**Barstow, Jr., H.**
**Billings, G. N.**
**Birdsall, S. H.**
**Brown, T.**
**Bramer, Mrs. C. K.**
**Balcombe, R.**
**Briggs, E. B.**
**Bassett, Beach**
**Barnes, C. T.**
**Briggs, C. H.**
**Brakeman, Ed.**
**Briggs, A. R.**
**Brown, Rev. S. M.**
**Beckwith, Chas. E.**
**Bythway, Thos.**
**Bythway, M.**
**Barclay, J. B.**
**Baille, Jno.**
**Baker, E. L.**
**Barker, J. F.**
**Barker, S. F.**
**Buckingham, C**
**Bardill, C.**
**Burr, G. W.**
**Bingham, D. L.**
**Barter, A.**
**Brownell, Mrs. Dora A.**
**Baker, L. D.**
**Boyd, D.**
**Billings, J. E.**
**Brooks, Athmel**
**Baldwin B. F.**
**Bedell, L.**
**Benson, Thos.**
**Boyes, Wm. H.**
**Boyes, Aaron**
**Boyes, Wm.**
**Burchill, R. A.**
**Buffham, J.**
**Bill, E. L.**
**Baby, Wm. L.**
**Bennett, P. M. & Co.**
**Blodgett, S.**
**Bristol, L.**
**Banta, J. W.**
**Blodgett, . S.**
**Bouton, E. D.**
**Brockway, C. S.**
**Brownell, J. E.**
**Brooks, M.**
**Brown, A.**
**Barnum, P. T.**
**Connor, D.**
**Coon, M.**
**Cooper, J. G.**
**Cooley, N. C.**
**Clark, J.**
**Cameron, R. A.**
**Carey, J. R.**
**Childs, F. B.**
**Charter, H.**
**Cherry, S. A. Mrs.**
**Coursen, G. H.**
**Carlton, D. H.**
**Culver, P. A.**
**Cobb, J.**
**Coker, W. H.**
**Chase, M. H.**
**Colby, W. M.**
**Conant, L.**
**Colburn, J. M.**
**Chapman, C. D.**
**Clark, T. J.**
**Dunham, J. L.**
**Dunham, E. L.**
**Denmeade, J. C.**
**Davidson, J.**
**Draper, G. T.**
**Dickinson, F.**
**Day, F. G.**
**Doudes, A.**
**Dundridge, Jas.**
**Dan, H. M.**
**Dane, W. B.**
**Davis, Leroy**
**Day, S. A.**
**Driver, James A.**
**Driver, A. M.**
**Dunham, S. C.**
**Dreghorn, James**
**Darling, W. M.**
**Desmond, J.**
**De Vine, C. W.**
**E. L. Repeating Arms Co.**
**Emerson, C.**
**Eller, M.**
**Eaton, Daniel**
**Eaton, G. W.**
**Eaton, J. B.**
**Eaton, Almon**
**Engle, P.**
**Engle, A.**
**Eacker, Jnc.**
**Embick, D.**
**Eaton, O.**
**Ellis, Wm.**
**Fisk, Richmond**
**French, S. F.**
**Foote, Jr., Wm.**
**Foster, J. H.**
**Fisk, G. W.**
**Fisk, J. M.**
**Fielder, R. C.**
**Forward, Jos.**
**Fisher, H. J.**
**Fear, D.**
**Frew, A.**
**Forsyth, J. W.**
**Fari, D. S.**
**Field, Amos**
**Flagg, C. R.**
**Fussell, L.**
**Fussell, E.**
**Frame, W. J.**
**Fritts, J. W.**
**French M. D.**
**Fussell, C. L.**
**Galbreth, H.**
**Graham, S.**
**Glenny, A.**
**Green, J. B.**
**Gransbury, S. H.**
**Greenwood, A. H.**
**Green, W. M.**
**Gates, J.**
**Guiney, Mrs. V. R.**
**Gillett, A. S.**
**Gilbert, A. J.**
**Gillett, I. P.**
**Gorton, Geo.**
**Gifford, M. V. B.**
**Grant, Jno.**
**Gushee, F. A.**
**Guilford, S.**
**Hotchkiss, A.**
**Hanby, C. F.**

Holt, A. D.
Hawk, W. W.
Harris, J. F.
Hall, W.
Hertig, J. S.
Howe, Va
Holmes, N.
Holmes, E. D.
Holmes, C. N.
Hall, N. W.
Hastings, M.
Holton, W.
Hatfield, P.
Hatfield, G. E.
Hall, Eli
Hollister, E.
Haslam, J.
Hurlbut, J. B.
Hale, R.
Hopper, W. A.
Hilton, R.
Hotchkiss, R.
Hovey, O. D.
Hanna, L.
Hanna, Geo.
Hanna, C. L.
Hanna, F.
Hanna, Amanda
Hogan, H. L.
Hoag, A.
Hover, W. A.
Howe, J.
Howe, Mrs. Matilda E.
Hoag, E.
Higgins, S.
Humphrey, Chas.
Henderson, M. P.
Hawkins, C. P.
Hollister, E.
Higenbotam, J.
Highland, J.
Harbisin, W. P.
Hartley, J. W.
Hurd, S. H.
Ingraham, G. W.
Johnson, J. H.
Jennings, E. P.
Jewell, Geo. A.
Jones, E. W.
Jordan, Wm.
Justin, J. G.
Jones, J. H.
Jones, J.
Kent, Wm. J.
Koons, W. L.
Kingsley, J. L.
Knight, Mrs. M. A;
Keith, Wm. H.
Kent, Jas. V.
Kent, Wm. M.
King, J. R.
Kitchell, Y.
Koons, W. L.
Linn, Samuel
Lawrence, Jas.
Lansing, M. W.
Lyman, A. W.
Lee, Mrs. Jas. L.
Lynn, R.
Lennen, K. M.
Langford, C.
Lowd, J.
Lawson, Jas.
Longstaff, Thos.
La Grange, B. S.
Liggett, A. R.
Law, H. M.
Lane, N. B.
Lee, H.
Logan, A.
Little, Jno.
Little, W. E.
Lee, W. N.
Lawton, Jr., F.
Meeker, N. C.
Moss, J.
Marsh, I. R.
Mendel, H. D.
Morrison, B. J.
Mabbitt, J. S.
Marland, A.
Monk, E. C.
Miller, W. W.
McWhorter, A.
McCarthy, G. W.
Mansfield, V. D. L.
Montgomery, M.
McKean, D. B.
McDermid, S. M.
Morris, H.
McKay, H.
Monk, G. E.
Maxwell, R. M.
Massenberg, W.
May, S.
Matteson, G. L.
Mattison, C. W.
Matteson, M. C.
Moore, A.
Moore, B.
McClain, O. S.
McAllister, Wm.
Nichols, Geo. N.
Newcomb, R. B.
Newman, W. C.
Nettleton, C. L.
Nickerson, D.
Neff, S. P.
Norton, E. W.
Northrup, C. L.
Orr, J. H.
Ostrander, C. S.
Odlin, W.
Plumb, O.
Paul, N.
Pabor, W. E.
Pratt, J. W.
Price, H.
Perzon, G. S.
Page, A. W.
Piatt, E. E.
Plummer, Jr., N. Y.
Peebles, S.
Plummer, Harriet S.
Pettigrew, J. H.
Poor, V. H.
Plato, W. B.
Paine, I. H.
Puckett, T. C.
Post, W. H.
Pyburn, Geo. A.
Percival, F. J.
Prosser, Geo.
Patten, S.
Preston, A. D.
Pease, Geo. A.
Price, Miss M. L.
Palmer, G. W.
Post, J. A.
Pool, C. O.
Quimby, M.
Ranney, J.
Ranney, D. B.
Robinson, R.
Ring, Wm.
Rush, Thos.
Reed D.
Ryerson, H. P.
Roison, J. L.
Roberts, M. F.
Randolph, T. C.
Rea, E.
Robinson, L. E.
Root, H. G.
Roeder, F.
Reeve, N. W.
Richardson, J. H.
Richardson, J. S.
Russell, C. M.
Rapp, J.
Reid, P. W.
Russell, Hetty M.
Rogerson, R.
Robinson, M. F.
Robinson, G. F.
Spencer, J. V. R.
Spencer, S.
Starkweather, H. L.
Stone, S.
Shelton, Geo. P.
Shearer, J.
Shearer, P.
Stoughton, H.
Spaulding, B. M.
Sheldon, H.
Stone, O.
Scott, J. L.
Stewart, A.
Shipman, H. M.
Sinclair, W.
Strunck, W. E.
Stansbury, D.
Silcott, H. E.
Sayre, H.
Seely, N.
Simpson, J. T.
Satterlee, J. S.
Sanborn, J. F.
Stanley, J. H.
Sawyer, W.
Smalley, H.
Seely, J. S.
Smith, J. G.
Shepard, T. C.
Sheldon, L.
Suliot, T. E.
Suliot, I. W.
Suliot, E. T.
Stebbins, J. R.
Schindler, J. H.
Shattuck, J. C.
Smith, M. H.
Spencer, W. S.
Scott, John
Searles, A. E.
Smith, H.
Smith, Charles
Starr, W. F.
Shattuck' O. W.
Trufant, J.
Taylor, A.
Townsend, Geo, Jr.

Tucker, L. S.
Titcomb, J.
Taylor, Mrs. Jane
Thing, D. H.
Thomas, C. H.
Tyler, G. B. C.
Ticknor, A.
Townley, F. G.
Thompson, S. K.
Thompson, Chas. E.
Von Gohren, L.
Vale, I.
Williams, L.
Webster, K.
Witmer, H. C.
Wilber, A. J.
White, M. R.
Welch, J.
Watrous, W. F.
Willoughby, B. F.
Walling, O. J.
Williams, J. S.
West, Geo. H.
West, H. T.
Worth, J. D.
Webb, E.
Winship, Chas.
Welch, C. R.
Washburne, S.
Williams, W. C.
Wherron, J. D.
Witham, L. P.
Watson, G. W.
Woodruff, W. B.
Wadlin, J. M. G.
Wright, N. D.
Washburne, S. B.
Wiley, M.
Welch, D. S.
Watson, H. C.
White, J. L.
Wilson, J. C.
Williams, S. P.
Waring, A.
Waddington, D.
Woolston, W. H.
White, A. L.
Woodbury, J. A.
Widdoss, J.
Young, D. C.
Zachario, S. S.
Zuckell, J. A.

## APPENDIX D. (b).

### LIST OF NAMES OF COLONISTS WHO JOINED DURING THE FIRST YEAR AT GREELEY, AND NOT ON PRECEDING LIST.

Abbott, J. C.
Abbott, T. H.
Abbott, Lucy E.
Adams, Geo. H.
Allen, N. R.
Annis, E. B.
Austin, Olin
Boyd, Alex
Boyd, Robt
Boyd, John
Brush, J. L.
Baker, A. S.
Bond, H. G.
Babcock, F. M.
Baxter, Alfred
Barnes, C. P.
Birdsall, S. H.
Brockway, W. H.
Bryant, Ira H.
Bryant, Frank
Benson, John A.
Buckley, Annie H.
Burgess, John
Beswick, Edwin
Burk, Richard
Bishop, T. B.
Beagle, F. G.
Bristow, Thos.
Beetham, Jas.
Bedford, Thos.
Buell, G. W.
Colburn, E. A.
Colburn, Jas. M.
Clark, Jas. M.
Clark, J. Max.
Clark, A. B.
Carter, T. J.
Carver, K. J.
Cloud, R. W.
Condit, John
Colton, David
Camp, W. J.
Clay, W. W.
Camp, August
Craig, Alex
Carpenter, Daniel
Carpenter, Le Roy
Cushing, R. J.
Canfield, Ira
Canfield, Isaac
Canfield, Elizabeth
Dresser, Geo. T.
De Votie, H. M.
Dunham, S. C.
Dugger, J. W.
Dixon, Walter
Dixon, Herbert
Decker, Jannette
Dyson, Joe
Dyer & Hulet
De Lee, J. C.
Dickerson, Rebecca
Emerson, Sarah R.
Eaton, C. C.
Eaton, O. A.
Eaton, Hannah
Eaton, B. H.
Evans, Gov. John
Fisher, C. W.
Fisk, Russell
Frisbie, L. S.
Fuller, Geo.
Faulk, John
Flower, J. B.
Fletcher, Geo.
Fairchild, Ezra
Fancher, Frank
Fezer, J. F.
Farwell, J. H.
Farwell, C. D.
Faris, S. R.
Ferdinand, H.
Green, Thomas
Gilchrist, A.
Gemmell Jennette
Gipson, Chas. B.
Gregory, Noah
Gordon, John H.
Greeley, Horace
Gunsalus, Isaiah
Garland, W. C.
Hubbard, Wm.
Hale, B. C.
Harrison, F. H.
Hilton, S. W.
Hilton, B. W.
Holmes, Mary
Hall, Ruth
Hogarty, M. J.
Hogarty, W. P.
Helme, Herriett
Hollister, Charlotte J.
Hoyt, Emma A.
Harris, Joseph
Hipe, C. W.
Hanna, Kersey
Hill, G. S.
Hunter, S. D.
Hersey, D. S.
Higley, D. C.
Hancock, A. W.
Heaton, Eph.
Heaton, Ellen
Heaton, Charles
Henry, Jas.
Higgins, A.
Holbrook, N.
House, E. P.
Hindale, Thos.
Hardman, Ira
Howard, C. V.
Howard, O.
Henicks, J. M.
Howland, C. A.
Hedges, Minor
Inderlied, Wm.
Ingak be, Theo.

Inman, Thomas
Inman, Joseph
Inman, Sarah M.
Inman, Sophia E.
Igo, Albert and E. P.
Johnson, Geo.
Jones, Daniel
James, E. B.
Joyce, Joseph
Jucket, J. A.
Knowles, M. B.
Kendall, Alpheus
Kennedy, S. S.
Keeler, D. B.
Kinnison, R. L.
Kaufman, D. J.
Kaufman, Rufus
Koogle, A. C.
Kibler, James
Kram, W. J.
Lee, Waldo N.
Law, G.
Lownds, E.
Lacy, Peter
Le Bar, Jas. M.
Leavy, John
Lichty, H. H.
Like, A.
Loomis, John S.
Long, John R.
Leonard, E. M.
Lockhart, M. J.
Marshall, Henry
Miller, I. D.
Meeker, Ralph
McCarty, Geo. W.
Melvin, Chas.
McDivitt, C. J.
Mckilvey, C. M.
McKnight, M. A.
Marsh, B. F.
Marsh, A. C.
Moore, Joseph
Moore, Samuel
McKinney, W. P.
Martin, Henry V.
Martin, Solon D.
McElroy, W. S.
Murray, Joseph
May, J. H.
McKnight, H.
Martin, Helen E.
Main, L. B.
Mimmack, Thos.
Nettleton, E. S.
Norcross, W. C.
Nichols, E. T.
Norris, P. M.
Nye, Elisha
Nye, A. F.
Owens, M.
Olds, A. M.
Oles, Hiram
Platt, Harvey
Platt, Charles
Plumb, Anna E.
Plumb, Augustus
Parker, Louisa M.
Parker, George E.
Parker, J. W.
Pollock, H. J.
Pollock, J. C.
Pratt, C. N.
Palmer, S.
Paine, I. H.
Perkins, G. W.
Pickett, Edwin
Pearson, Henry
Pettingill, Julia B.
Putnam, P. W.
Putnam, Prucius
Putnam, B.
Pearson, Sarah A.
Quigley, Jerry
Rogerson, H. N.
Root, A. H.
Root, D. W. C.
Reed, Hanford
Reed, P. W.
Ruthvan, E. R
Ruthvan, Mrs. A.
Roberts, Samuel
Ramsay, Allen
Ramsay, Walter J.
Raiff, J. C.
Rogers, P. J.
Robertson, N.
Rous, F. H
Randolph, Calvin
Scott, Jas. S.
Scott, James C.
Scott, E. J.
Scott, Franklin M.
Shepard, B. F.
Shepard, Geo. L.
Shattuck, Hattie M.
Severance, A. N.
Sanborn, William
Sanborn, C. M.
Sanborn, B. D.
Shaw, D. B.
Smith, W. W.
Smith, M. H.
Smith, J. W.
Schell, W. H.
Spencer, Mrs. H. P.
Schenck, W. H.
Stickney, Henry
Stanton, D. B.
Springer, L. S.
Springer, Susan
Stevens, Robert
Stevens, Chas. A.
Stimson, Thomas
Swan, George
Stewart, John
Smith, Charles
Shepard, T. L.
Taylor, John
Thomas, Geo. W.
Thomas, Mary E.
Tucker, Mary E.
Thompson, W. F.
Thompson, Thomas F.
Thompson, John
Titcomb, J. W.
Townsend, Mary E.
Teller, L. W.
Tuttle, H. B.
Thacker, J. R.
Taylor, Christina
West, Lina A.
Wright, S. B.
Wright, R. B.
Wright, Wm.
Washburn, Alice C.
Washburn, S.
Welch, Jacob
Welch, C. R.
Welch, Albert
Welch, Ann
Wadlin, J. A.
Weed, G. N.
Williams, Fred
Williams, Wm.
Wylie, J. C.
Wyman, H. L.
Wyman, G. B.
Wait, A. C.
White, C. A.
Wadlin, A. J.
Ward, H. W.
Ward, E. F.
Whipple, Irene S.
Whipple, L.
Wilcock, V. P.
Witter, Ella M.
Witter, Daniel
Wrattan, John
Walker, E. B.
Whitney, Q. W.
Yates, Thomas

## APPENDIX E.

### LIST OF OFFICERS OF THE TOWN OF GREELEY, WELD COUNTY, COLORADO, FROM TIME OF INCORPORATION.

---

### For the Year 1871.

*Trustees*—*R. A. Cameron, President to June 26, 1871; Henry T. West, President to April, 1872. N. D. Wright, †E. S. Nettleton, Levi Hanna.

*Resigned. James B. Flower appointed. †Dixon Stansbury appointed.

*Clerk and Treasurer*—*W. E. Pabor.  
*Constable*—Samuel B. Wright.  
*Street Supervisor*—B. S. La Grange.

*Resigned June 26, 1871, and J. G. Cooper elected.

---

*Trustees for 1872*—Evan Rea, President; *Henry T. West, Joseph Moore, N. M. Boynton, J. V. R. Spencer.

*Resigned August 19, 1872, and G. Law elected to fill vacancy.

*Clerk and Treasurer*—*James G. Cooper.  
*Constable*—Samuel B. Wright.  
*Street Supervisor*—O. W. Shattuck.

*Resigned September 5, 1872, and L. Von Gohren elected.

---

*Trustees for 1873*—*Evan Rea, President; Ira Canfield, Joseph A. Woodbury, Joseph Moore, H. H. Bayley.  
*Clerk and Treasurer*—L. Von Gohren.  
*Constable*—Samuel B. Wright.  
*Street Supervisor*—Eli Hall.

*Died May, 1873, and Ira Canfield elected President of Board, and Theodore Ingalsbe appointed Trustee.

---

*Trustees for 1874*—Ira Canfield, President; B. C. Adams, S. K. Thompson, Joseph Moore, John Leavy.  
*Clerk and Treasurer*—L. Von Gohren.  
*Constable*—James Kibler.  
*Street Supervisor*—Eli Hall.

---

*Trustees for 1875*—Joseph Moore, President; S. K. Thompson, John Leavy, A. E. Gipson, Theodore Ingalsbe.  
*Clerk and Treasurer*—L. Von Gohren.  
*Constable*—B. F. Marsh.  
*Street Supervisor*—Samuel Graham

---

*Trustees for 1876*—W. F. Thompson, President; E. J. Carver, Joseph Moore, S. B. Wright, John Leavy.  
*Clerk and Treasurer*—L. Von Gohren.  
*Constable*—B. F. Marsh.  
*Street Supervisor*—Samuel Graham.

*Trustees for 1877*—James C. Scott, President: E. H. Abbott, George H. West, W. F. Thompson, Daniel Hawks, L. Von Gohren.
*Clerk and Treasurer*—L. Von Gohren.
*Constable*—R. B. Harrington.
*Street Supervisor*—James J. Armstrong.

---

*Trustees for 1878*—Eli Annis, President: L. B. Willard, John Leavy, Joseph Moore, Thomas Mimmack, L. Von Gohren.
*Clerk and Treasurer*—L. Von Gohren.
*Constable*—B. F. Pinneo.
*Street Supervisor*—James J. Armstrong.

---

*Mayor for 1879*—W. C. Sanders.
*Trustees*—James F. Benedict, L. B. Williard, A. Z. Salomon, H. B. Jackson, L. Von Gohren.
*Clerk and Treasurer*—L. Von Gohren.
*Marshal*—Calvin Randolph.
*Street Supervisor*—James J. Armstrong.

---

*Mayor for 1880*—James M. Freeman.
*Trustees*—George H. West, J. E. Billings, S. K. Thompson, L. B. Williard, B. F. Marsh.
*Clerk and Treasurer*—B. F. Marsh.
*Marshal*—J. H. Senier.
*Street Supervisor*—James J. Armstrong.

---

*Mayor for 1881*—Daniel Hawks.
*Trustees*—J. E. Billings, B. F. Johnson, J. M. Wolaver, S. B. Wright, B. F. Marsh.
*Clerk and Treasurer*—B. F. Marsh.
*Marshal*—James J. Armstrong.
*Street Supervisor*—James J. Armstrong.

---

*Mayor for 1882*—Daniel Hawks.
*Trustees*—Joseph Moore, L. W. Kimball, N. W. Hall, W. H. Nice, B. F. Marsh.
*Clerk and Treasurer*—B. F. Marsh.
*Marshal*—Norman Woodward.
*Street Supervisor*—James J. Armstrong.

---

*Mayor for 1883*—S. K. Thompson.
*Trustees*—Alex. Mead, J. L. Ewing, Albert Igo, *W. H. Nice, B. F. Marsh.
*Clerk and Treasurer*—B. F. Marsh.
*Marshal*—Louis Dupree.
*Street Supervisor*—James J. Armstrong.

*Resigned. E. J. Carver appointed.

---

*Mayor for 1884*—Samuel D. Hunter.
*Trustees*—George W. Fisk, Robert Steele, W. M. Boomer, James B. Flower, F. H. McDonald.
*Clerk and Treasurer*—F. H. McDonald.
*Marshal*—B. F. Pinneo.
*Street Supervisor*—James J. Armstrong.

---

*Mayor for 1885*—George H. West.
*Trustees*—Robert Steele, R. H. Johns, H. C. Watson, O. P. Gale, F. H. McDonald.
*Clerk and Treasurer*—F. H. McDonald.
*Marshal*—C. A. Myers.
*Street Supervisor*—James E. Williams.

*Mayor for 1886*—E. H. Abbott.

*Aldermen*—First Ward, F. L. Childs, Patrick Bready; Second Ward, Robert Steele, Joseph A. Woodbury; Third Ward, B. D. Harper, N. F. Cheeseman.

*City Clerk*—F. H. McDonald.

*City Treasurer*—George W. Currier.

*City Attorney*—C. A. Bennett.

*Police Magistrate*—L. B. Willard.

*City Marshal*—S. G. Fuller.

*Street Supervisor*—James E. Williams.

*Chief of Fire Department*—E. M. Nusbaum.

*City Engineer*—J. D. Buckley.

*Mayor for 1887*—George H. West.

*Aldermen*—First Ward, James Beetham, Fred E. Smith; Second Ward, Joseph A. Woodbury, Horace G. Clark; Third Ward, Calvin Randolph, B. D. Harper.

*City Clerk*—*H. B. Jackson.

*City Treasurer*—George W. Currier.

*City Marshal*—†S. G. Fuller.

*Police Magistrate*—L. B. Willard.

*Street Supervisor*—J. E. Williams.

*Chief of Fire Department*—J. A. Taylor.

*Resigned. H. A. French appointed Clerk November, 1887. F. P. Frost appointed Clerk *pro tem*, February 7, 1888.

†Resigned. D. F. Camp appointed.

*Mayor for 1888*—C. A. White.

*Aldermen*—First Ward, Peter Huffsmith, James Beetham; Second Ward, H. G. Clark, J. A. Woodbury; Third Ward, C. A. Bennett, C. Randolph.

*City Clerk*—H. A. French.

*City Treasurer*—A. W. Davis.

*Police Magistrate*—L. B. Willard.

*City Marshal*—D. F. Camp.

*Chief of Fire Department*—D. F. Camp.

*Mayor for 1889*—A. T. Bacon.

*Aldermen*—First Ward, Peter Huffsmith, W. H. Daniels; Second Ward, H. G. Clark, *J. E. Williams; Third Ward, C. A. Bennett, Calvin Randolph.

*City Clerk*—E. F. Dawley.

*City Treasurer*—A. W. Davis.

*Police Magistrate*—L. B. Willard.

*City Marshal*—Fred Williams.

*Superintendent Water Works*—E. F. Dawley.

*Engineer Water Works*—F. S. Dresser.

*Chief Fire Department*—W. M. Boomer.

*Deceased. J. A. Woodbury appointed to fill vacancy.

*Mayor for 1890*—J. A. Woodbury.

*Aldermen*—First Ward, Peter Huffsmith, W. H. Daniels; Second Ward, J. A. Taylor, Richard Patterson; Third Ward, Calvin Randolph, M. P. Henderson.

*City Clerk*—E. F. Dawley.

*City Treasurer*—A. W. Davis.

*Police Magistrate*—L. B. Willard.

*City Marshal*—D. F. Camp.

*Superintendent Water Works*—E. F. Dawley.

*Engineer Water Works*—F. S. Dresser.

*Chief Fire Department*—W. M. Boomer.

# APPENDIX F.

## GRADUATES OF THE HIGH SCHOOL.

1880—Will H. Patton, †Jessie Dresser, Josie L. Person, *Ida O. Kennedy, Fannie Shattuck.

1882—†Milton G. Cage, Mort W. Darling, Hubert L. Shattuck, Grace D. Armstrong, Mary Gallup, *Theodora Law.

1884—†Louis L. Haynes, Fred M. Dille, George N. Law, Agnes S. Moodie, Lura Gallup, *Fannie E. Billings, Nellie N. Davis.

1885—*Everett F. Benedict, Manfred S. Fraser, Robert M. Ferguson, †Psyche E Boyd, Emily C. Newman, Winifred C. Newman, Myra C. White, Gertrude L Brewer.

1886—Claud H. Clark, *Abram L. Mumper, Emery H. Bayley, D. Stockton Monahan, †Julia B. Durkee, Luella C. Sanders, Grace D. Norcross, Hattie C. Hogarty, Emma B. Eaton, Bessie D. Moodie.

1887—Clarence N. Wood, Kitty Armstrong, *Evanthie C. Boyd, †Maude C. Clark, Maud M. Curtis, Cora A, Darling, Laverna I. Goodwin, Marian Howard, Bessie L. Ross, May L. Smith, Ruby E. Shepard.

1888—*Albert W. Durkee, John C. Nixon, Clara S. Bliss, Nettie E. Gale, Mary T. Hogarty, Inda Ireland, †Kittie I. Marsh, Lilly L. Plowhead, Anna E. Monahan.

1889—*Wesley W. Putnam, Charles A. Nixon, Angie E. Piper, †Lena Boggess, M. Rachel Davis, Edna M. Brush, Anna L. Mumper.

1890—Ned M. Gale, Charlie N. Jackson, Frank K. Packard, *Lizzie Struble, †Nettie M. Carey, Emily F. White.

NOTE—Those marked (*) had first honors, and those marked (†) second.

# APPENDIX G.

## NAMES OF THOSE SUBSCRIBING TO NORMAL SCHOOL DONATION.

Weld County, $1,000; P. W. Breene, $500; Union Bank, $500; First National Bank, $500.

The following subscribed $200 each—George H. West, J. M. Freeman, J. C. Scott, Currier Bros., B. F. Johnson, H. J. Thompson, J. H. Young, David Boyd, J. L. Brush, Daniel Hawks, Helen Hapgood, J. L. Ewing, A. G. McLeod, John A. Rankin, J. M. Wallace, J. W. McCreery, B. D. Harper, H. E. Churchill, Robert Hale, Wm. Mayher, H. C. Watson, Sanborn & Phillips.

A. T. Bacon subscribed $150, and the following, $100 each—O. Howard, W. G. Sterling, Mitchell & Patton Merchandise company, G. K. Peasley, H. N. Haynes, Huffsmith & Atkinson, Sharon Atkinson, Hall & Jastrowitz, E. R. Thayer, W. L. Clayton, James Tuckerman, J. K. Thompson, W. P. Welch, F. E. Smith, F. P. Frost, R. H. Johns, Alex Mead, W. C. Thomas, Asa Sterling, Wyatt Bros., Thomas Hadley, Albert Igo, J. F. Fezer, C. W. Wulfjen, G. Law, S. D. Hunter, Jesse Hawes.

The following $50 each—S. F. McCreery, H. M. Look, A. A. Howard, Henderson & Kendel, A. B. Copeland, C. Randolph, Nixon & Gill, C. H. Mulford, E. A. Thompson, R. F. Graham, R. Steele, R. Patterson, T. G. Macy, Von Gohren & Co., Rothschild & Co., P. W. Putnam.

The following $25 each—F. O. Patton, C. A. Bennett, W. M. Darling, T. F. Thompson, Farr & Taylor, A. A. Woodbury, J. B. Cooke, Albert Howard, Fred Dille, Dennis Murray, B. W. Hilton, E. F. Dawley, H. P. Heath, A. C. Watson, Ephraim Heaton, P. Putnam, E. M. Nusbaum, C. F. Mason, C. H. Wheeler, J. C. Swan, James Walker, Levi Hanna, W. S. McElroy.

Andrew Scott subscribed $20, and the following $10 each—A. C. Patton, H. M. Chamberlain and E. S. Parsons.

The total is $11,175.

## APPENDIX H.

The following extract is taken from the article by Professor L. G. Carpenter, in the report of the State Agricultural College for 1889, and should have been embodied in Chapter VIII of this work, but that was through the press before the report reached the author. This part of the report is written by L. G. Carpenter, professor of meteorology and irrigation engineering:

### EXTENT OF THE IRRIGATED AREA IN COLORADO.

"So many questions are asked regarding the extent of the irrigated region of Colorado, that it is thought best to publish the following preliminary estimate, which is probably the closest that can be made at present. The area given is that of the land "under ditch," *i. e.* of lands so situated that water can be obtained from some existing ditch. Whether the ditches can carry the water needed or whether the water supply in the streams is sufficient, are questions that have not been considered. As a matter of fact, we know that neither the water supply, as at present used, nor the capacity of the ditches, is sufficient to water the lands lying beneath existing ditches.

The estimate is made from unpublished data, collected by myself the past summer, from maps of ditches filed in the State Engineer's office, and from the valuable map made for the Commissioner of immigration, by J. C. Ulrich, C. E., of Fort Collins. This map, which is as yet unpublished, shows the line of every existing ditch, as far as data could be obtained. By the aid of a planimeter, many areas were taken from this map.

For the purpose of water administration, the state is divided into six water divisions; these again into water districts, of which there are sixty-seven. The areas are classed according to the divisions, but no attempt has been made to assign areas to individual districts.

Each division includes the land watered from a river and its tributaries. The divisions are as follows: No. 1, the Platte valley; No. 2, the Arkansas; No. 3, the Rio Grande; No. 4, the San Juan; No. 5, the Grand; No. 6, the White and the Bear river valleys.

### APPROXIMATE AREAS "UNDER DITCH" IN COLORADO.

| | | *Sq. Miles.* | *Acres.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Division I.—(Platte Division): | | | |
| Platte valley, below the Poudre | 283.21 | | |
| Platte valley, above the Poudre, including Bear and Clear creeks | 551.64 | | |
| St. Vrain and Boulder creeks | 294.59 | | |
| Big and Little Thompson | 134.22 | | |
| Cache la Poudre | 393.54 | | |
| Total from South Platte | | 1,657.20 | 1,060,608 |
| From North Platte in North Park | | 101.23 | 64,787 |
| Division II.—(Arkansas Division): | | | |
| East of Huerfano river | 489.08 | | |
| Cucharas | 94.40 | | |
| La Veta and Apache | 84.17 | | |
| Upper Arkansas and Fontaine | 106.91— | 774.56 | 495,718 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Division III. (Rio Grande Division) | 1,561.00 | 1,000,000 |
| Division IV.—(San Juan Division):<br>Including Dolores, Mancos, Pine, Florida, La Plata rivers | 135.00 | 86,400 |
| Division V—(Grand River Division) | 210.00 | 134,400 |
| Division VI.—(Bear and White River Division) | 110.00 | 70,400 |
| Total | 4,552,00 | 2,913,273 |

The total amount of land under ditch in Colorado, at present, is then not far from 4,500 square miles, or 3,000,000 acres. The amount of land actually irrigated can not be so reliably estimated at present. It is much less than the amount under ditch. From the sections of the state, which I have visited, it would be safe to estimate that not over one-third of this is under cultivation.

It is interesting to compare this with other countries that have practiced the art of irrigation much longer than we. In France 400,000 acres are under irrigation. In the valley of the Po, according to Baird Smith, 1,600,000 acres were watered in 1851, and, in 1882, according to Deakin, (Fourth Progress Report, Royal Commission on Water Supply, Victoria), the amount had doubled. In Egypt, about 7,000 square miles are irrigated, and in India, according to data given by Marsh, in "Man and Nature," there seems to be about 18,000 square miles under canals."

## TABLE OF ANNUAL RAINFALL

AT PIKE'S PEAK SIGNAL STATION, TAKEN FROM THE SIGNAL SERVICE NOTES NO. 7, RELATIVE TO VARIATION OF RAINFALL WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER.

| 1871. | 1872. | 1873. | 1874. | 1875. | 1876. | 1877. | 1878. | 1879. | 1880. | 1881. | 1882. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [35.0] | [48.0] | [22.0] | 26.9 | 21.7 | 23.9 | 25.6 | 43.3 | 39.8 | 40.6 | 44.6 | 28.8 |

# APPENDIX I.

## STATE ENGINEER'S REPORT 1888—TABLE SHOWING MEAN ANNUAL PRECIPITATION AT DENVER, COLORADO, BY MONTHS, 1872 TO 1888, INCLUSIVE.

| | 1872. | 1873. | 1874. | 1875. | 1876. | 1877. | 1878. | 1879. | 1880. | 1881. | 1882. | 1883. | 1884. | 1885. | 1886. | 1887. | 1888. | AVERAGE PER MONTH. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| January | 0.55 | 0.13 | 0.81 | 0.48 | 0.21 | 1.90 | 0.10 | 0.40 | 0.38 | 0.50 | 0.57 | 2.35 | 0.22 | 0.41 | 0.62 | 0.67 | 0.11 | .60 |
| February | 0.22 | 0.24 | 0.52 | 0.60 | 0.11 | 0.40 | 0.48 | 0.39 | 0.32 | 1.22 | 0.20 | 0.45 | 0.86 | 0.75 | 0.72 | 0.30 | 0.37 | .48 |
| March | 1.71 | 0.22 | 0.49 | 0.39 | 1.80 | 1.40 | 1.82 | 1.00 | 0.21 | 0.87 | 0.20 | 0.21 | 0.93 | 0.97 | 2.36 | 0.23 | 1.15 | .93 |
| April | 2.09 | 2.43 | 1.70 | 2.21 | 1.22 | 2.77 | 0.05 | 2.62 | 0.31 | 0.50 | 1.47 | 3.10 | 3.33 | 4.91 | 2.79 | 2.16 | 1.71 | 2.08 |
| May | 3.74 | 0.75 | 2.43 | 1.94 | 8.57 | 2.30 | 2.90 | 3.36 | 1.11 | 2.21 | 2.08 | 4.30 | 4.61 | 2.13 | 0.09 | 1.13 | 2.66 | 2.77 |
| June | 2.07 | 2.21 | 1.21 | 0.53 | 1.10 | 1.93 | 2.78 | 0.32 | 1.22 | 0.00 | 4.96 | 0.85 | 1.47 | 0.66 | 2.26 | 0.53 | .29 | .44 |
| July | 2.69 | 2.00 | 3.35 | 4.12 | 1.16 | 0.33 | 1.38 | 0.64 | 1.38 | 2.50 | 0.06 | 2.27 | 0.65 | 1.33 | 0.50 | 2.49 | .41 | 1.63 |
| August | 1.05 | 1.41 | 0.68 | 1.97 | 2.03 | 1.30 | 2.25 | 1.38 | 1.46 | 2.33 | 1.20 | 0.75 | 1.71 | 1.18 | 1.62 | 2.68 | 1.51 | 1.47 |
| September | 1.57 | 0.89 | 1.34 | 2.89 | 0.60 | 0.38 | 1.23 | 0.02 | 0.89 | 0.57 | 0.06 | 1.08 | 0.13 | 1.22 | 0.98 | 0.97 | .11 | 1.59 |
| October | 0.68 | 0.73 | 0.64 | 0.22 | 0.12 | 2.15 | 0.80 | 0.19 | 1.37 | 0.32 | 0.75 | 1.49 | 0.21 | 0.73 | 0.33 | 0.97 | .77 | .73 |
| November | 0.60 | 0.16 | 0.08 | 1.28 | 1.50 | 0.73 | 0.67 | 0.21 | 0.83 | 1.68 | 0.71 | 0.32 | 0.19 | 0.55 | 1.93 | 0.22 | .33 | .71 |
| December | 0.29 | 0.53 | 0.17 | 0.59 | 1.70 | 0.79 | 1.05 | 0.33 | 0.10 | 0.00 | 0.73 | 2.32 | 0.76 | 1.08 | 0.87 | 0.14 | .00 | .67 |
| Total | 17.95 | 11.73 | 13.45 | 17.25 | 20.12 | 16.38 | 15.51 | 10.86 | 9.58 | 12.79 | 14.49 | 19.49 | 15.07 | 15.95 | 15.07 | 12.49 | 9.51 | 15.10 |

The total average in the above is an error. It should be 14.57.

The average for the first eight years is 15 4. For last nine only 13.83, which is, to say the least, no increase.

## PRECIPITATION FOR 1889.

FROM ANNUAL REPORT OF EXPERIMENTAL STATION, FORT COLLINS.

| STATIONS. | January. | February. | March. | April. | May. | June. | July. | August. | September. | October. | November. | December. | Year. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Julesburg | 0.08 | *0.02 | 0.72 | 3.05 | 2.16 | 3.90 | 3.52 | 1.12 | 0.35 | 0.74 | .31 | ...... | ...... |
| Le Roy | ...... | ...... | 4.00 | 4.40 | 2.99 | 3.38 | 0.36 | 2.56 | 0.83 | 0.37 | .60 | .10 | ...... |
| Greeley | ...... | ...... | 0.57 | 1.95 | 2.57 | 3.12 | 1.90 | 1.09 | 0.25 | 1.92 | 0.21 | ...... | ...... |
| Middle Box Elder | ...... | ...... | ...... | ...... | *0.22 | 3.70 | 0.57 | 0.39 | 0.28 | 3.915 | 0.16 | .03 | ...... |
| Fort Collins | 0.215 | 0.34 | 0.65 | 2.07 | 3.39 | 2.057 | 0.785 | 0.951 | 0.42 | 3.165 | 0.425 | .01 | 14.48 |
| La Porte | ...... | ...... | ...... | ...... | ...... | ...... | 0.68 | 0.725 | 0.35 | 2.74 | 0.29 | T | ...... |
| Livermore | ...... | ...... | ...... | ...... | *4.16 | 4.08 | 1.47 | 1.10 | 0.70 | 3.82 | 0.19 | .04 | ...... |
| Elkhorn | ...... | ...... | ...... | ...... | ...... | ...... | 1.74 | 1.68 | 0.57 | 3.70 | .40 | .32 | ...... |
| Upper Pine | ...... | ...... | ...... | ...... | ...... | 2.40 | 3.02* | 1.56 | 0.67 | 2.24 | 0.70 | .48 | ...... |
| Denver S. S. | 0.50 | 0.70 | 0.40 | 1.31 | 3.44 | 1.88 | 2.94 | 0.33 | 0.28 | 2.11 | .53 | .30 | 14.75 |
| Lamar | 0.09 | 0.64 | 0.64 | 3.34 | 1.77 | 2.56 | 2.14 | ...... | 0.50 | 2.39 | .40 | ...... | ...... |
| Rocky Ford (Experiment Sta.) | 0.36 | 0.12 | 0.67 | 2.12 | 1.75 | 0.75 | 4.50 | 1.28 | 0.26 | 1.68 | 0.77 | .04 | 14.30 |
| Eagle Farm | ...... | 0.10 | 1.25 | 2.80 | 2.00 | 1.13 | 1.80 | 1.05 | 1.12 | 5.50 | 0.96 | .31 | ...... |
| Pueblo | 0.34 | 0.24 | 0.51 | 1.57 | 1.40 | 0.84 | .81 | 1.60 | 0.69 | 1.62 | .72 | .10 | 10.44 |
| Del Norte (Experiment Station) | 0.33 | 0.27 | 0.20 | 1.04 | 0.13 | 0.51 | 0.98 | 0.45 | 0.35 | 0.55 | 1.27 | 1.23 | 7.31 |

It will be seen from the upper table that at Denver the month of May takes the lead, and that April is next. The defective rainfall in the Arkansas valley (Pueblo) and in the Rio Grande (Del Norte) will be noted. In both valleys crops have to be irrigated to bring them up.

# INDEX.

Abbott, J. C., 122.
Abbott, Mrs., 255.
Alfalfa, 115.
Annis, E. B., 240.
Annis, F. J., 218.
Atkinson Family, 403.
Armstrong, J. J., 405.
Auditing Com., 79.

Banks of Greeley, 225-230.
Bacon, A. T., 416.
Barclay, Dr. J. B., 420.
Baxter, Alfred, 275, 402.
Baker Family, 194-5.
Bancroft's History, 188-204.
Barnes, David, 43, 121.
Banks, 225-6.
Barnum, P. T., 237-243.
Beetham, James, 403.
Benedict, James, 389.
Blodgett, Samuel, 258, 395.
Bray, Henry T., 291.
Bromwell, H. P. H., 123, 132, 134.
Brockway, W. H., 256.
Brownell, J. E., 401.
Boyo, August, 413.
Brown, Peter, 417.
Brush, J. L., 74, 123, 246.
Buell, G. W., 402.
Buckingham, Charles G., 388.

Cage, Rev. G. A. W., 188.
Cage, Milton, 253.
Cameron, R. A., 7, 30, 46, 51, 56, 58, 77, 120, 186, 232, 275, 317, 381, 385.
Cameron, Mrs., 386.
Carpenter, Daniel, 410.
Camp, Dr. A. L., 413.
Canals of Union Colony; cost of construction, 59-63; mill power, 65; as investments, 203.
Carver, E. J., 404.
Catholics in Greeley, 294.
Casey, Robt, 248.
Celery a Colorado crop, 158.
Certificates, Colony, 75.
Chamberlin, H. B., 117.
Childs, F. L., 50, 86.
Churches of Greeley, 274.
Circular of Cameron and West, 131.
Clark, J. Max., 89, 93, 99, 111.
Clark, Judge J. M., 109.
Clark, Mrs. A. K., 219.
Coates, Miss Ada B., 248.
Copeland, A. R., 218.
Colonies, imitations of Union, 184 et seq.
Constitution Union Colony, 127.
Cooke, J. B., 252.
Cooper, J. G., 401.
Crops, average yield of, 143, 393.
Currier Family, 116.
Currier, G. W., 248.

Davis, J. E., 413.
Dairy and Stock Associations, 66.
Darling, William, 118.
Denver in 1869, 25.
De Votie, Henry, 400.
Divide, description of, by N. C. M., 21.
Delbridge, W. H., 411.
Dresser, Miss Jessie, 249.
Dresser, Frank and Harry, 351 et seq.
Dresser, Sarah E., article on massacre, 351.

Eaton, B. H., 40, 119, 135, 192, 196, 201.
Eaton, Geo. W., 353.
Eaton, Oscar, 201.
Eaton, Town of, 204.
Electric lighting in Greeley, 222.
Elliott, D. W., Business College, 251.
Elliott, Judge, 128, 133, 134.
Emerson, Dr. Charles, 388.
Evans, Town of, 174 et seq.
Ewing, J. L., 225, 227.
Ewing, J. W., 229.
Executive Com., 38.

Farming, 179.
Farmers' Club, 206.
Flower, J. B., 233, 388.
Flower, H. F., 222.
Fence, Colony, 69-73.
Fezer, J. F., 121.
Foote, Wm., 396.
Forbes, A. J., 401.
Fort Morgan, 194.
Fort Collins, 187.
Freeman, J. M., 135.
Foster, J. H., 158, 394.
Fourierism, 13.
Fruit growing in Colony, 80.
Fullerton, W. S., 322,

Gallup, Mary M., 248.
Gale Families, 414.
Germans, 17, 294.
Gilchrist, A., 417.
Gibbs, Joseph E., 279.
Gipson, A. E., 158.
Grasshoppers, 160.
Greene, State Engineer, 112.
Green City, 188.
Grange in Greeley, 298.
Graham, Samuel, 406.
Greeley, Horace, 31, 35, 37, 69, 79, 82, 84 231, 232, 295, 309, 311, 376.
Greeley Tribune, first issue, 83.
Greeley, Town of—mentioned by Wm. Black, 6; why so named, 11, 14; how laid out, 76; a city of homes, 84; rise in property, 159; growth, 173; Puritanical, 182; then and now, 264.

Hanna, Levi, 51.

Hale Robt, 416.
Harper, B. D., 419.
Hall, Eli, 403.
Hall, Niagara, 408.
Hall, Wm. Ham., 136.
Hawks, Daniel, 413.
Hancock, A. W., 409.
Haynes, S. B. A., 123, 257.
Haynes, H. N., 257, 413.
Haynes, Louis, 227.
Haynes, Florence N., 259, 280.
Harvey, Julia B., 248.
Hawes, Dr. Jesse, 424.
Henry, James, 409.
Hobbs, G. A., 52.
Hollister, E., 197.
Hotchkiss, Arthur, 401.
Hogarty, M. J., 399.
Howard, O., 246, 248, 419.
House, Mrs. E. P., 249.
Hogeland, N. S., 279.
Horticulture, 156.
Hughes, Bela M., 132-134.
Huffsmith, Peter, 229.
Hunter, S. D., 226, 248, 291.

Inman Family, 403.
Indians, 26, 320 et seq.
Irish settlers, 18.
Irrigation Pump Factory, 221.
Irrigation—land under in Poudre valley when Colony came, 88; how much land can be irrigated in Colo., 89; in Italy, 89-91; Convention in Denver, 92, 101; how much Platte water, 101; Patrick O'Meara on, 104; devices for measuring water 110; estimates of lands irrigable in state, 112-117; water appropriated by decrees of court, 125; legislation on, 119, 141.

Johns, R. H., 230.
Johnson, B. F., 389,
Johnson, J. H., 79.

Kendel, J. C., 414.
Knowles, M. B., 50, 245.
Kinnison, Robert, 417.

Law, Dr. G., 110, 210, 224, 421.
Law Family, 424
Larimer and Weld canal, 202.
La Grange, B. S., 9, 135, 398.
Leavy, John, 407.
Locating Com., 39, 41.
Library, Greeley, 254 et seq.
Lumber company, 64.
Lyman, J. B. and wife, 29.

Mason, Charles, 172.
Macy, T. G., 406.
Martin, Solon, 193.
Mercantile company, 225.
Mead, Elwood, engineer, 126.
Mead, L. C., 121-123.
McCreery, J. W., 113, 140.
Mimmack, Thomas, 403.
McClellan, Wm., 410.
McClellan, W. R., 228.
Miner, W. A., 228.
Moodie, A. D., 397.
Monahan, D. Stockton, 252.
Moore, Joseph, 322, 403.
Murray, Joseph, 406-407.

Meeker, N. C., 4, 7, 12, 16, 32, 38, 49, 77, 86, 165, 231, 243, 255, 275, 317, 319, 320, 351; Monument to, 363; character of, 373; Mrs. Arvilla D., 357, 360, 361; Ralph, 15, 31, 236, 371; George, 46; Josephine, 358; town of, 353.

Negroes in Greeley, 294; and Indians, 343.
Nettleton, E. S., 51, 111, 136, 202.
North Platte canal settlement, 196.
Norcross, Grace D., 249.
Norcross Family, 420-421.

Oasis Hotel, 224.
Ogilvy, Hon. L., 195, 291.
Orchard and Weldon valley, 192.
Ouray, Ute chief, 360, 368, 371.
Orr, James, 406.

Pabor, W. E., 157, 300.
Packard, A. K., 202, 252, 287.
Packard, E. K., 416.
Patterson, R., 225.
Pinkerton, J. H., 174, 182.
Price, E. J., 414.
Price, Mrs., 356, 359.
Plato, W. B., 235.
Platte Canon canal, 203.
Platte and Beaver, 193.
Plumb, Ovid, 411.
Potato crop in Greeley, 152, 155.
Postoffice in Greeley, 230.
Post, Wm. H., 354.
Pound, Greeley, 72.
Putnam, P. W., 193.

Ramsay, Allen, 403.
Real estate in Greeley, 159.
Resolutions of early mass meeting, 48.
Rhodes, L. R., 121, 135, 137.
Robinson, Solon, 288.
Robinson, Remus, 248.
Rous, F. H., 397.

Salomon, A. Z., 85, 161, 225, 363.
Savage, R. W., 290.
Sawyer book store, 229.
Sanborn, C. W., 290.
Sanborn & Phillips, 226.
Secret societies in Greeley, 270.
Seepage land, 152.
Soil, fertility of, 142; 155.
Shepard, G. L., 353.
Shepard, Fred, 354.
Shattuck, J. C., 67, 78, 251.
Shattuck, Mrs. J. C., 248.
Scott, Dr. J. S., 410.
Scott, Judge J. C., 410.
Scott, Andrew, 418.
Sterling, Asa, 417.
Sterling, town of, 191.
Smith, F. E., 227, 290.
Stanton, Fred M., 92.
Storms, James, 401.
Stevens, J. J., 215.
Schools, Greeley, 245.
School, State Normal, 253; subscribers to fund, Appendix G.
Taylor, John L., 252, 288.
Teller, L. W., 197.
Temperance in Greeley, 232, 240; Evans, 180; Longmont, 186; Fort Collins, 187; Sterling, 191; Eaton, 205.

Thomas, W. C., 248, 252.
Thompson, John, 401.
Thompson, Arthur, 354.
Trees, carload of, 80.
Townsend, Harvey, 111.
Tousey, Sinclair, 312.
Tuckerman, James, 413.

Wallace, J. M., 260, 293, 365.
Wallace, Charles, 418.
Watson, Henry C., 64, 225.
West, H. T., 5, 9, 39, 41, 46, 48, 51, 56, 77, 89, 243, 318, 381, 387.
West, George H., 192, 196, 224.
Wadlin, J. M., 401.
Water for domestic use in Greeley, 207; of artesian wells, 212; analyses of, 218, 219; does it fertilize? 144; analyses of, 147, 150.
Wheeler, Chas. H., 248.
Wheeler, Mrs. T. R., 218.
White, Chas. A., 215, 217, 257, 201, 390.
White River massacre, 348.
Welch, W. P., 407.
Wilber, A. J., 89, 269.
Wilson, Dr. Henry, 281.
Wright, S. B., 257, 418.
Wulfjen, C. W., 414.

Young, John Russell, 29, 31.